

EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY

DOWN TO THE END OF THE FOURTH
DYNASTY OF UR

*TO WHICH IS APPENDED AN ACCOUNT OF
THE E. A. HOFFMAN COLLECTION
OF BABYLONIAN TABLETS IN THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, NEW YORK, U.S.A.*

Dissertation

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY
OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

BY

REV. HUGO RADAU, A.M., B.D., PH.D.

MAYO FELLOW IN THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

New York

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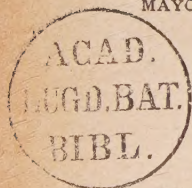
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TO
THE VERY REV.
E. A. HOFFMAN

D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

DEAN OF THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THIS IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF GREAT

GRATITUDE BY THE

AUTHOR



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PREFACE

THE following pages, herewith submitted as a Doctor's dissertation, are part of a longer work which was written with much hesitation and under the greatest difficulties. The following points I had especially in view:—

1. To arrange as far as possible the kings of the different dynasties so far known to us according to a certain chronological order. Whether I have succeeded in this remains for the reader to decide.

2. To transcribe and translate—wherever it was possible—all those texts which are not to be found in K. B. iii¹. By doing this I thought to help not only the historian, but also beginners in the study of Sumerian inscriptions, of whom I am the first and foremost. Everybody who has studied these oldest of all inscriptions knows the difficulties that are to be encountered. It would have been great arrogance on my part to have attempted to translate them, were it not for the excellent works of such scholars as Jensen, Hommel, Thureau-Dangin, and Hilprecht. They have been my teachers; on the basis of their transcriptions and translations those to be found on the following pages have been made. While thus attempting to transcribe and translate these inscriptions, I first tried—wherever neces-

sary—to identify the signs either according to T. C. or to E. C., which latter book came too late into my hands to be quoted throughout. Had it reached me earlier, it would have saved me considerable anxiety, and probably prevented my making many mistakes. After the sign in question had been identified I tried to establish its meaning, which has always been done according to Br. and H. W. B., thus affording a means to control the transcription and translation.

3. To give in a note under each respective king all inscriptions that belong to that king—where they have been published, where transcribed and translated. In this way I thought to help the reader in comparing the different translations so far extant with each other—in what respect they agree and where they differ. If there should be found some inscriptions already published that are not mentioned, this is due to the fact that the libraries which I was permitted to consult did not contain the books I was so anxiously looking for.

4. To presuppose some knowledge of the grammar of the Sumerian language by the reader. One may rightly expect that even a beginner in Sumerian should have studied the grammars of Haupt and Hommel before attempting to translate Old Babylonian inscriptions.

5. To avoid deductions from the inscriptions as far as possible, for every reader can himself make them from the inscriptions, provided that the translation is correct. Whether it was possible for me to give in all cases the correct translations masters of Sumeriology alone can determine.

6. To avoid all legendary matter. This explains why I should have begun with Enshagkushanna rather than with the 'kings before the Flood.'

It only remains to thank the Very Rev. E. A. Hoffman, D.D. (Oxon.), D.C.L., LL.D., Dean of the Gen. Theol. Sem., New York City, for his kindness and liberality. Had it not been for his help and generosity these pages would never have been published. Also to the Rev. C. W. E. Body, D.D., D.C.L., Professor of Old Testament Literature in the Gen. Theol. Sem., New York City, my heartiest thanks are due for his assistance in acquiring and arranging the 'E. A. Hoffman collection,' as well as for his help in reading the proof-sheets. To express to my teacher and revered friend, Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, my sense of lasting obligation gives me special pleasure. During three years of special study his library, time, and scholarship have been most generously at my disposal.

HUGO RADAU.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
April 2, 1899.

SOME ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT.

-
- A. B. K. = HUGO WINCKLER : Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte.
 A. B. P. R. = BRUNO MEISSNER : Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht.
 A. F. = HUGO WINCKLER : Altorientalische Forschungen.
 A. L³ = FRIEDR. DELITZSCH : Assyrische Lesestücke ; 3rd edition.
 B. A. = FR. DELITZSCH und P. HAUPT : Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
 Br. = R. E. BRÜNNOW : A Classified List of all . . . Cuneiform Ideographs.
 C. T. = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum,
 Parts i-vi.
 Déc. = E. DE SARZEC : Découvertes en Chaldée.
 E. S. = FR. DELITZSCH : Entstehung des Altbabylonischen Schriftsystems.
 E. C. = F. THUREAU-DANGIN : Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cunéi-
 forme.
 H. W. B. = FR. DELITZSCH : Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.
 J. A. O. S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 O. B. I. = H. V. HILPRECHT : Old Babylonian Inscriptions, chiefly from
 Nippur.
 O. L. Z. = Orientalische Litteratur-Zeitung.
 P. S. B. A. = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
 R. A. = Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.
 R. P. = Records of the Past.
 R. R. B. L. = H. V. HILPRECHT : Recent Research in Bible Lands.
 R. S. = Revue Sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne.
 R. T. = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyp-
 tiennes et Assyriennes.
 S. L. = FR. HOMMEL : Sumerische Lesestücke.
 T. C. = A. AMIAUD et L. MÉCHINEAU : Tableau Comparé des écritures
 Babylonienne et Assyrienne.
 U. A. G. = H. WINCKLER : Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte.
 Z. A. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
 Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

(All the other abbreviations used are self-evident.)

EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY

لَيْسَ بِإِنْسَانٍ وَلَا عَالِمٍ مَنْ لَمْ يَحِ التَّارِيخَ فِي صَدْرِهِ
وَمَنْ دَرَى أَخْبَارَ مَنْ قَدْ مَضَى أَضَافَ أَعْمَارًا إِلَى عُمْرِهِ

*Der ist kein Mensch, noch gar ein gelehrter Mann,
Wer die Geschichtsdaten nicht auswendig kann;
Doch wer von der Vorzeit kann Kunde geben,
Fügt neues Leben zum eigenen Leben.*

No nation can look back upon such a long time of recorded history as can the Ancient Babylonians. Recent excavations have brought to light tablets, which show us that in the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates there existed a highly civilized nation as early as 5000 B.C., a nation which had its own language and its own system of signs in which to express it. This fact alone would make the study of old Babylonian history full of interest. The study, however, is not only interesting, but also of great historical moment. We are informed by the Bible that Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish race, came from Ur of the Chaldees. If we want to follow up the history of Abraham and his ancestors we are at once thrown into contact with Old Babylonia. Abraham, according to Archbishop Usher's chronology, lived at about 1900 B.C. At this time Babylonia had long outgrown its infancy. Amraphel, king of Shinar (the Babylonian Hammurabi), does not merely claim authority over Babylon, but he bears the proud

title 'king of the four corners of the world,' thus showing that the countries north and south, east and west of Babylonia were subject to him. This Hammurabi records his mighty deeds in inscriptions written in two different languages. We are therefore led to conjecture that there must have been two different peoples in the country, differing from each other in speech. These two languages vary widely in grammatical construction and arrangement. They have been called by scholars the 'Sumerian' and the 'Semitic-Babylonian' languages respectively. An examination of them shows that the Sumerian was the original one in Old Babylonia. The Sumerians must consequently have been the people who invented this system of writing, called the 'Cuneiform Script.' If this is so—and it can hardly be denied—it would follow that there must have been a time when the Sumerians were the sole possessors of Babylonia. And if the Sumerians were the originators of this system of cuneiform writing and the original inhabitants of Babylonia, the question arises, when did the 'barbarians,' who adopted the Sumerian mode of writing, in order to express their Semitic language, invade the country? Whence did they come? Did they come from the north or from the south? If they came from the north, where was their original home? If they, on the contrary, came from the south, from what part of the south? These are all questions difficult to answer. A due consideration, however, will be given to them, when we come to consider the times of Lugalzaggisi.

True, it has been maintained by very eminent scholars during the last twenty years, that we should not look for two distinct races in Babylonia, but only for *one race*, using two *different modes of writing*, this race being asserted to be the *Semitic*. But, if we postulate only one race, using two different 'modes of writing,' how well educated must the people have been at so early a time as 4000 B.C. to be *able to use* two such widely differing 'modes of writing'! That would presuppose a development of at least two to three thousand years and a civilization which would be without parallel in the history of mankind.

The most difficult question, however, in this history is that of its *chronology*. Here we have almost no basis to stand on; nay, we are often at a loss to tell which dynasty of rulers preceded or followed another dynasty, and even within the dynasties we sometimes do not know which ruler is to be placed first and which last.

And yet, thanks to the excavations made at Telloh and Nippur, and to the diligence of such scholars as Hilprecht and Thureau-Dangin, we are now able to bring at least some light into this darkness.

We know that it is possible to reconstruct the chronology of the Assyrian empire on the basis of the historical inscriptions which have been found. If we had similar documents for the period which we propose to discuss, the task would be a simple one. But not having this assistance, we must content ourselves with other means. These are:

1. Incidental references in some particular inscription to a certain king, who is thus shown to be contemporary with the events narrated in that inscription.

2. Palaeographic evidence. This latter, however, must only be employed where the former is wanting.

As soon as some of the cuneiform inscriptions had been deciphered and the meaning of the signs established, scholars were able to verify the results so far obtained by facts derived from other sources. Thus the principle employed in reading cuneiform inscriptions was proved to be correct. Among these inscriptions brought to light were also some tablets which proved to be 'lists of officers' and 'lists of kings.' Each officer was appointed for a particular year, and gave his name to it, like the *ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος* of Athens. Hence this official list was called by George Smith 'The Eponym Canon'; and this title is still retained by scholars. It was customary for the Assyrian kings to date their documents by these eponym-years. When they did so, the expression usually used was: *ina lîmi* X.X., i.e. 'in the eponym of a certain officer,' or 'when a certain officer was eponym.' Some documents, however, are arranged according to

the years of the king's rule, as for example: 'in the first, second, &c., year of my reign I did a certain thing.' In some cases both methods were combined. In the Black Obelisk of Shalmanassar, e. g., we read: *Ina šurrat šarrutia*, i. e. 'in the beginning of my kingship' (l. 20); then in l. 26: *ina išten palia*, 'in the first year of my reign'; *ina šani-e palia*, 'in the second year of my reign' (l. 32); *ina šalši palia*, 'in the third year of my reign' (l. 35); but in l. 45 he does not say 'in the fourth year of my reign,' but *ina lim-mu Dâin-Ašur*, 'in the eponym of Dâin-Ashur.' Hence the eponym of Dâin-Ashur is identical with the 'fourth year of his reign.' Probably as many as thirty different officers could be eponyms. When the list was exhausted the series was recommenced. This series was headed by the king (*šarru*), then came the tartan (*turtânu*), then the military commander (*rab ummanâti rapšâti*), then the *rab ekal*, the 'chief of the palace,' and so on. These lists of eponyms were kept with the greatest regularity. A new reign was marked off from the preceding one by a dividing line. Seven of such canons have been brought to light; unfortunately none is complete, but in many cases they confirm and supplement each other. Some of these canons only give the names of the different eponyms that followed in an unbroken line; others, again, are accompanied by brief historical notices of some event or events which occurred each year. These brief notices, curiously enough, became the means of reducing the Assyrian chronology to 'exact terms of our own.' And if we succeed in fixing precisely the date of one eponym, we can generally fix all the others which either precede or follow, provided the line is unbroken.

The remarkable statement which gives us the key to the whole Assyrian chronology runs thus:

'Pur-Sagale of the land of Gozan. Revolt of the city of Ashur. In the month Sivan the sun suffered an eclipse.'

This eclipse has been calculated by a certain Mr. Hincks to be that which occurred on June 15, 763 B. C.; and this date has been

generally¹ accepted as that of this eponym. Pur-Sagale was the eighth eponym in the reign of Ashurdanan², king of Assyria; consequently Ashurdanan began to reign in the year 771 B.C.³ Having now fixed the date of one king, we can, with the help of the 'list of the kings' and other inscriptions, determine the date of all the others. In this way we calculate that the date of Nabû-nâ'id, king of Babylonia, is 555-539 B.C. This king mentions in one of his inscriptions ('the great cylinder from Abû-Habba' [Sippar], VR 64; Abel und Winckler, Keilschrifttexte, p. 40 ff.) a certain Naram-Sin, the son of ŠAR-GI-NA (read in Assyrian Šarru-kênu). This text is of the greatest historical importance and reads as follows (col. ii. 46 ff.):

'For Shamash, the judge of heaven and earth, Ebarra, his temple, which is in Sippar, and which Nebuchadnezzar a former king had built, and whose old foundation stone he had sought but not found—that temple he had built, and after forty-five years the walls of that temple had fallen down. I became frightened and humble, was terrified, and my face became confused. I caused Shamash to go out from it, making him to dwell in another house. I tore down that temple and looked for its old foundation stone. Eighteen cubits of ground I removed⁴, and the foundation stone of *Na-ra-am-ilu Sin*, the son of ŠAR-GI-NA, which during 3,200 years no king that went before me had found,—Shamash . . . showed to me.'

In this inscription Naram-Sin, the son of Shargina, is said to have lived 3,200 years before Nabû-nâ'id. This statement would put the date of Naram-Sin at 3750 B.C., and that of his father at about 3800 B.C.⁵

¹ Oppert's contention (P.S.B.A. xx. p. 26) that this eclipse in the reign of Pur-Sagale (he reads this name *Ezid-sêti-igbî*) did not occur on June 15, 763 B.C., but on June 13, 809 B.C., may be of importance for Biblical chronology, but does not affect our reckoning.

² Oppert, l. c. p. 25, reads this name *Assur-edil-el*.

³ Comp. K. B. i. p. 211 and p. 206.

⁴ Lit.: Eighteen cubits of ground I made deep (sc. my digging = *hîrûtu*.)

⁵ For Lehmann's contention (*Zwei Probleme*) that we have to read 2,800 instead of 3,200, see below.

When we compare this statement of Nabû-nâ'id with the results of Babylonian excavations, we find that we actually possess inscriptions of Naram-Sin and of a certain Sharganisharâli. The original inscriptions, however, do not shed any light on the statement of Nabû-nâ'id, that this Naram-Sin was the son of Sharganisharâli, nor do they absolutely prove that this Sharganisharâli is identical with the Shargina of Nabû-nâ'id. Indeed, the name Shargani shar âli itself was for a long time a bone of contention among scholars. Some maintained that this Sharganisharâli had nothing to do with the Shargina of Nabû-nâ'id, and they even read the name Binganisharâli (Oppert)¹. Others again, anxious to maintain the identity of Sharganisharâli with Shargina, read Sharganisharâli, taking the shar âli as a title, i.e. 'Shargani the king of the city' (Hommel, *Gesch.*). This, however, is not possible; because if such were the case the two elements Shargani and shar âli would be separated by a dividing line (see O. B. I. p. 17).

Hilprecht has maintained the identity of Sharganisharâli with Shargina for the following reasons:—

1. We find—at least in the last 2,500 years of Babylonian history—abbreviated forms of the same names in use. It is therefore highly probable that at some future time we may find the abbreviated form Shargâni even on his own monuments.

2. It is natural that the long name of such a famous king and hero of popular story should be abbreviated, and when it had ceased to be intelligible, explained after the method of 'folk etymology,' as Sharru-kênu, 'the true king.'

True and reasonable as these arguments were, yet they are only indirect. We should still be justified in doubting the identity of Sharganisharâli with Shargina. But this is no longer possible.

Léon Heuzey has published in R. A. iv. p. 1 ff., several seal-cylinders of Sharganisharâli and Naram-Sin. Among these, two are of special importance; one on p. 8 reads:—

¹ It was also read *Šar-ga-ni-šar-luh* (Ménant); *Šar(Bin)-ga-ni-šar-imsi* or *Šar(šir, bin)-ga-ni-šar-ali* (Oppert), *Šar-ga-ni-šar-mahāzi* (Winckler).

Col. 1. Šar-ga-ni-šar-āli da-num šar A-ga-de ^{ki}	i. e. Sharganisharāli, the mighty king of Agade,
Col. 2. Lugal-ušum-gal pa-te-si Šir-pur-la ^{ki} arad-ka (NITAĜ-ZU)	Col. 2. Lugalushumgal, patesi of Shirpurla, (is) thy servant.

The other, on p. 11, reads :—

(^{ilu}) Na-ra-am-(^{ilu})Sin da-num ilu A-ga-de ^{ki} šar ki-iš-ra-tim ar-ba-im Lugal-ušum-gal dup-sar pa-te-si Šir-pur-la ^{ki} arad-ka (NITAĜ-ZU)	i. e. Naram-Sin, the mighty god of Agade, king of the four corners of the world, Lugalushumgal, the scribe, patesi of Shirpurla, (is) thy servant.
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From these inscriptions we see that Lugalushumgal, the patesi of Shirpurla, lived during the reigns of Sharganisharāli and Naram-Sin, during both of which reigns he was their servant. Hence it follows that Sharganisharāli and Naram-Sin were successive kings, and therefore, in accordance with the inscription of Nabû-nā'id, father and son, living at 3800 and 3750 B.C.¹

From this point we can now proceed to consider the date of the other rulers of Babylonia. It is true, for the date of the other kings we cannot adduce the testimony of *so great and trustworthy*

¹ See also below, s.v. 'Kings of Agade,' and compare for the present Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 235, and Maspero, Dawn of Civilization, p. 599, note 4 : 'There is at the present,' he says, 'no serious reason to question its accuracy, at least relatively, except the instinctive repugnance of modern critics to consider as legitimate, dates which carry them back further into the past than they are accustomed to go.'

a witness as Nabû-nâ'id, but we must fall back upon the argument derived from the study of 'palaeography'—a precarious argument, no doubt, but notwithstanding a helpful one.

In order to get a clear view of the palaeographic problems connected with the earliest inscriptions down to the time of Ur-Ba'u, we may select some characteristic signs, which most frequently occur, and which may be taken to represent their specific epochs. (Compare the signs given on the opposite page.)

In the inscriptions of this early period we have to distinguish—

1. Between the writing as exhibited in the so-called historical inscriptions, in votive tablets, &c. (this writing, no doubt, is in the most cases artificial; it is, if we may call it so, a 'Gothic style' of writing);

2. And the writing used in 'everyday life,' to be found on the 'contract-tablets.'

We may use as a basis for our comparison the 'contract-tablets' of the time of Sargon I., published by Thureau-Dangin in R. A. iv. No. iii. No. 13 ff., and the 'contract-tablets' of the time of Urukagina (see column A), published by the same scholar, l.c. Nos. 8-12¹. All these 'contract-tablets'—those of Sargon I. as well as those of Urukagina—'*proviennent pour la plupart de Telloh.*' As far as I know, no 'contract-tablets' from the time of Eannatum have as yet been published. Of this latter ruler we only have historical inscriptions, which are all written in the 'Gothic style.' In order therefore to be able to compare the inscriptions of Eannatum with those of Urukagina, it is necessary—if we wish to have a common basis of comparison for the inscriptions of both of these rulers—to use also the 'Gothic' signs of Urukagina (see column B). With these 'Gothic' signs of Urukagina and Eannatum we can also compare the 'Gothic' signs as exhibited in the inscriptions of Enne-Ugun (O. B. I. 103, 110, 104, 105, 102), Urzaguddu (O. B. I. 93), and Lugalzaggisi (O. B. I. 87). The whole table of comparison I have headed with two signs taken from the

¹ We have to compare the writing as exhibited on the 'contract-tablets' of both of these rulers, because it is hardly possible to use the 'Gothic style' of Sargon I. as a basis for comparison with the 'Gothic style' of Urukagina.

												Blau.
												Before Urukagina. Inscriptions on clay. R.A. iv. iii. Nos. 1-7.
					O. B. I. 99 (vide p. 9, 2)							O. B. I. Nos. (90-92), 94, 98, 101, 111.
												Enshagkushanna, O. B. I. 90-92.
												Urukagina. A. Contracts. R. A. iv. iii. Nos. 8-12.
												Urukagina. B. Tablets. (a) Barrel-Cylinder. (b) Other inscriptions.
												Eannatum.
												Enne-Ugun. O. B. I. Nos. 103, 110, 104, 105, 102.
												Urzaguddu. O. B. I. 93.
												Lugalzaggisi. O. B. I. 187.
												Sargon I. Contract-tablets. R. A. iv. iii. No. 13 ff.
												Ur-Ba'u.

* This sign is remarkable. That the two elements are connected is probably due to carelessness of the scribe.

Monument Blau¹, confessedly the oldest document we possess. The second line exhibits certain signs taken from 'contract-tablets' published by Thureau-Dangin in R. A. iv. No. iii. 1-7. This scholar has himself said that these signs are '*signes ayant des formes particulièrement archaïques*.' The next two lines give signs of O. B. I. Nos. 94, 98, (99²), 101, 111, and of O. B. I. 90-92 (Enshagkushanna).

A careful consideration of the signs above given clearly exhibits the following three great periods:—

- (1) From the oldest times down to Urukagina.
- (2) From Urukagina to Lugalzaggisi.
- (3) From Lugalzaggisi to Ur-Ba'u.

1. The *first period* apparently is governed by the peculiar sign for *MU*: 'the two pairs of parallel lines found at or near the middle of the horizontal line cross each other.' At the time of Urukagina we find, however, that this 'crossing' is not always the case. Hence Urukagina belongs to the end of the first, and also forms the beginning of the second period. It will be noticed that in the oldest period (line 2) not only the parallel lines near the middle of the horizontal line cross each other, but also the two lines at the beginning³. At first these lines at the beginning were shortened, and later on also those near or at the middle of the horizontal line.

2. The *second period* is governed by the signs *DA* and *ŠU*. Notice the development. In the oldest times the 'thumb' is 'curved' and 'pressed on the fingers.' In the age of Urukagina,

¹ See p. ii. n. 3.

² I would not class O. B. I. 99 among these inscriptions as Hilprecht does; the form for *DA* shows this clearly. See opposite page.

³ Hilprecht's statement (O. B. I. p. 249), therefore, that 'the original picture for *MU* is an *arrow* . . . whose cane shaft bears the same primitive marks or symbols of crossed lines as are characteristic of the most ancient form of arrow used in the religious ceremonies of the North American Indians,' does not hold good. Comp. also Delitzsch, *Schriftssystem*, p. 34 f., 114-120. Thureau-Dangin's contention, E. C. p. xiii. n. 2, that this 'crossing' is due '*au mouvement rapide imprimé au calame*' is disproved by the very occurrence of this *MU* on stones.

the thumb, although still curved, is removed from the fingers; at the time of Lugalzaggisi, however, we find that the 'thumb' is not only taken away from 'the fingers,' but is sometimes *curved* and sometimes *straight*. Lugalzaggisi therefore belongs to the end of the second period, and forms at the same time the beginning of the third ¹.

Hilprecht, speaking about the palaeographic evidence of the inscription published in O. B. I. 90-92, 94, 98, 99, 101, 111, says (O. B. I. p. 250): (1) 'Urukagina lived before the ancient kings of Shirpurla;,' (2) 'The inscriptions above referred to are older than Urukagina.' This is true, if we except O. B. I. No. 99. But when he goes on (p. 254) to say: 'Nos. 86, 87 (i. e. inscriptions of Lugalkigubnidudu and Lugalzaggisi) . . . show all the characteristic features of the inscriptions of Urukagina, Ur-Ninâ, and Eannatum (*sic!*). But besides they exhibit a number of palaeographic peculiarities which are altogether absent from the inscriptions of *Telloh*, and must be regarded as characteristic features of an earlier stage of writing. They will be treated in full at another place,' he overstates the facts. Lugalzaggisi (and consequently also Lugalkigubnidudu, Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 271) is by *no means* to be placed before Eannatum ². Compare for instance the sign *KA*, of which Thureau-Dangin says (R. S. 1897, p. 269): '*Le signe KA présente déjà la forme symétrique qu'il doit garder et dans laquelle il n'est plus possible de discerner (ainsi que dans la forme d'Eanadou et mieux dans celle du Monument Blau) le profil humain tourné vers la droite.*' Compare also the signs for *KUR*, *E* (not *mà* or *ga*, as Hilprecht reads); the sign *HUL* of Eannatum has still a curved line in front, which curved line becomes a *broken* one at the time of Lugalzaggisi. Compare also the sign *LUGAL*. In Eannatum's inscriptions it is always written *gal* + (*ga*)*lu*, while in Lugalzaggisi the two elements are joined together.

¹ This is also the reason why I would refer O. B. I. No. 99 to the end of this second period, viz. because the 'thumb' is straight, although the sign *MU* has the *old* form.

² So already Thureau-Dangin. Vide R. S. 1897, p. 268 ff., where that scholar came to the same result by a comparison of certain signs.

Hence, there can be no doubt that Lugalzaggisi is younger than Eannatum, and not 'surely older' (*sic!* Hilprecht, l. c. p. 258). Enne-Ugun is older than Lugalzaggisi (comp. the signs of *LUGAL* and *E* with those of Lugalzag.), but probably (?) younger than Eannatum (see the sign for *KA*, which in Enne-Ugun's inscription already has the 'symmetric' form). Whether Urzaguddu is older than Lugalzaggisi is uncertain, if we try to determine his date only from 'palaeographic considerations.'

3. The third period, beginning with Lugalzaggisi, is governed by the peculiarity that original curved lines are broken (comp. *HUL*), complete lines are divided (comp. *E*), the 'thumb' in *DA* and *SU* is straightened, the sign for 'king' no longer exhibits its original two elements, but they form *one* sign. *KA* throughout has the symmetric form. To this third period Sargon I. belongs.

From these considerations it follows that Sharganisharâli¹ is not by any means the earliest king of whom we have inscriptions, but that he belongs to the third period, which begins with Lugalzaggisi. If we claim for each period a space of only 500 years²—which is surely not exorbitant—we would come to the great age of about 5000 B.C. We may safely assert that the difference of the signs on the Monument Blau³ from those in R. A. iii. 1-7

¹ Hilprecht (in O.B.I. i. p. 19) has come almost to the same result, i.e. that the early kings of Shirpurla (of whom Eannatum may be called the representative) antedated Sargon. His argument, however, although right, was precarious at the time when he wrote his statements. It is in substance this:—

During the excavations at Nippur there was found in the same deep-lying stratum as the inscriptions of Sargon and Âlusharshid, and close by them, a fragment of an inscription saying that 'Entemena, patesi of Shirpurla,' presented a vase to Bel at Nippur. From this he concludes—(1) that the date of the oldest Semitic rulers of Babylonia is approximately the same as that of the earliest patesis of Shirpurla, i.e. about 3800 B.C.; (2) that the kings of Shirpurla were earlier than Sargon I. (or Âlusharshid).

² This supposition is chiefly based upon the number of rulers that make up each period; see further below.

³ The 'Monument Blau,' so called from its possessor Dr. Blau, was first published in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, Oct. 1885, and republished in R. S. 1896, with a translation by Thureau-Dangin.

(comp. second line of signs, opposite p. 8) is so great, that we may add about 500 years more, i. e. 5500 B. C., which would be the approximate date of the Monument Blau¹.

The Chronology of the Kings and Patesis of Shirpurla (Lagaš).

Having seen that Urukagina, who is called in his inscriptions 'king of Shirpurla,' must have preceded Eannatum (p. 9), who calls himself 'king' as well as 'patesi of Shirpurla,' and that this latter again antedated Ur-Ba'u, another patesi of Shirpurla, it will be necessary here to treat more specifically of the chronology of these kings and patesis.

Eannatum calls himself in the 'Galet A,' col. viii. ll. 1-7, the

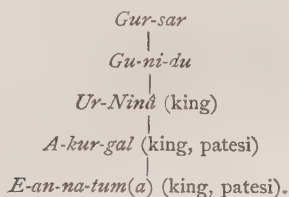
<i>dumu A-kur-gal</i>	i. e. the son of Akurgal,
<i>pa-te-si</i>	patesi
<i>Šir-pur-la^{ki}-ge</i>	of Shirpurla ;
<i>pa-giš-bil-ga-ni</i>	his ancestor
<i>Ur-dingir Ninâ</i>	is Ur-Ninâ,
<i>pa-te-si</i>	the patesi
<i>Šir-pur-la^{ki}-kam</i>	of Shirpurla.

If we compare this statement with the Stèle des Vautours, where he calls himself 'the son of Akurgal, the king of Shirpurla, the son of Ur-Ninâ,' it will be evident that the expression *pa-giš-bil-ga-ni* means in this case 'grandfather,' and hence Eannatum is the grandson of Ur-Ninâ. Ur-Ninâ again speaks of himself in Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 2, col. 1, ll. 1-5, as follows:—

(<i>Dingir</i>) <i>Ninâ + UR</i>	i. e. Ur-Ninâ,
<i>lugal</i>	the king
<i>Šir-pur-la</i>	of Shirpurla,
<i>dumu Gu-ni-du</i>	the son of Gunidu,
<i>dumu Gur-sar</i>	son of Gursar.

¹ To this same period belong also the tablets published in Déc. 1^{bis}, No. 1^{a-b}; Déc. 1^{er}, No. 5 and 6^{a-b}, and a tablet recently acquired by Dean E. A. Hoffman, which seems to antedate even the Monument Blau.

We would get then so far the following genealogy :—



But further, Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 17, translates an inscription of a so-called Enannatum(a), patesi of Shirpurla, which is published in Déc. pl. 6, 4, in which inscription we read :

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1. 3. | <i>En-an-na-tum(a)</i> | i. e. | Enannatum(a), |
| 1. 4. | <i>pa-te-si</i> | | patesi |
| 1. 5. | <i>Šir-la-pur-ki</i> | | of Shirpurla, |
| 1. 10. | <i>dumu En-te-me-na</i> | | the son of Entemena |
| 1. 11. | <i>pa-te-si</i> | | patesi |
| 1. 12. | <i>Šir-la-pur-ki-ka-ge</i> | | of Shirpurla. |

Also of this Entemena mentioned here we have several inscriptions, in one of which he gives his genealogy as follows :—

Déc. 31, 3 (R. A. ii. 87) :

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| | <i>En-te-me-na</i> | i. e. | Entemena, |
| | <i>pa-te-si</i> | | the patesi |
| | <i>Šir-la-ki-pur</i> | | of Shirpurla, |
| | <i>dumu En-an-na-tum(a)</i> | | the son of Enannatum(a) |
| | <i>pa-te-si</i> | | the patesi |
| Col. 2. | <i>Šir-la-ki-pur-ka</i> | | of Shirpurla, |
| | <i>dumu-ka</i> ² | | the grandson |
| | <i>Ur-dingir Ninā</i> | | of Ur-Ninā |
| | <i>lugal</i> | | the king |
| | <i>Šir-ki-la-pur-ka-ge</i> | | of Shirpurla. |

¹ For the meaning of the terms *lugal* and *patesi*, see below.

² We must read thus, not *SAG*, as Jensen does, K. B. iii¹. p. 75, n. ii. The sign is clear. It cannot be read *SAG*, because this latter sign differs quite considerably from the sign *KA*.

If we compare this inscription with the preceding, we find that we have here two persons with the name of Enannatum(a); the one being *the son* of Entemena (Déc. 6, 4), while the other is the father of Entemena (Déc. 31, 3). In order to distinguish these two patesis, we shall call the latter (i. e. Enannatum(a) the father of Entemena) Enannatum(a) I., the former (i. e. Enannatum(a) the son of Entemena) Enannatum(a) II. However, one difficulty remains unexplained, viz. the expression *dumu-ka*. Jensen, who transcribed the inscription (see note 2, p. 13), read *SAG* and translated '*der erstgeborene Sohn*'; he apparently followed Heuzey, who translated '*fiis aîné*.' If these translations be correct, then Enannatum(a) I. would be the firstborn of Ur-Ninâ, consequently a brother of Akurgal. That this is not the case, an inscription of Enannatum(a) I., published by De Sarzec in R. A. iii. p. 31, clearly proves. There we read :

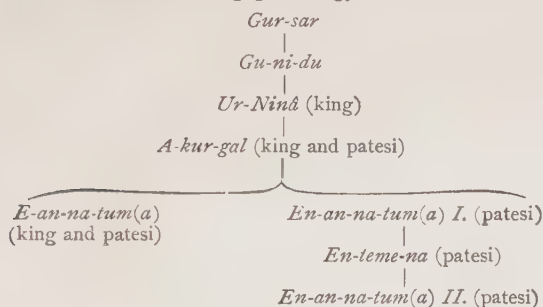
<i>(dingir)</i> <i>Nin-gir-su</i>	i. e. To Ningirsu
<i>gud</i> <i>(dingir)</i> <i>En-lil-ra</i>	the hero of Enlil,
<i>En-an-na-tum(a)</i>	Enannatum(a),
<i>pa-te-si</i>	patesi
<i>Šir-la-ki-pur</i>	of Shirpurla,
<i>kur-gu-zal-zal</i> ¹	the conqueror of all the lands for
<i>[(dingir)</i> <i>Nin]-gir-su</i>	Ningirsu,
<i>[dumu]</i> <i>A-kur-gal</i>	the son of Akurgal
<i>[pa-te-]si</i>	the patesi
<i>Šir-la-pur-ki-ka-ge</i>	of Shirpurla.
<i>(dingir)</i> <i>Nin-gir-su-ra</i>	To Ningirsu
<i>bur-še(sic)</i> ² <i>gaz</i>	this vase to crush the grain
<i>mu-na-dim (= epešu)</i>	he has made.
<i>nam-ti-la-ni-šu</i>	For (the preservation of) his life
<i>[(dingir)]</i> <i>Nin-gir-[-su]-ra</i>	to Ningirsu
<i>[E-n]innû</i>	the E-ninnû
<i>mu-[na-ru]</i>	he [has built].

¹ For this expression see Eannatum, Galet A.

² The copy gives *SUM*, the ideogr. for *nadânu*.

This inscription proves clearly that Enannatum I. was a son of Akurgal and therefore the brother of Eannatum.

We are now in a position to understand the expression *DU-MU-KA*, which Entemena applies to his father Enannatum(a) (Déc. 31, 3); it apparently means 'the grandson.' Thus, then, Entemena says he is the son of Enannatum(a), and this latter is the *dumu-ka*, the 'grandson,' of Ur-Ninâ. And this Enannatum(a) the grandson of Ur-Ninâ we have already seen to be the Enannatum(a) the son of Akurgal (R. A. iii. p. 31), the brother of Eannatum(a). We have thus established, with De Sarzec, R. A. iii. p. 32, the following genealogy :



Above, on page 9, we have seen that the inscriptions of Urukagina belong not only to the end of the first period of old Babylonian writing, but also to the beginning of the second, of which second period the inscriptions of Lugalzaggisi form the end. Each period, it was argued, comprised about 500 years. If this is true, then Urukagina must have lived about 500 years before Lugalzaggisi. Can we maintain this statement—apart from palaeographical evidence—by other considerations?

Entemena in his 'Cône historique' (see Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iii. p. 42 ff.) mentions a certain Mesilim, king of Kish, who in the quality of lord paramount fixes the boundaries between the country of Shirpurla and Gishban¹ (?), signifying this boundary by a statue which he erects. Fortunately we have an inscription of this very

¹ The reading of this name is not certain; probably it should be read Gish-Uh.

Mesilim, king of Kish; see R. A. iii. No. 2, pl. iii. and p. 55; comp. R. A. iv. p. 35. It reads:

<i>Me-silim</i>	i. e.	Mesilim,
<i>lugal</i>		king
<i>Kiš</i>		of Kish,
<i>sa + ga</i> ¹		the high priest(?)
(dingir) <i>Nin-su-gir</i>		of Ningirsu,
(dingir) <i>Su-nin-gir</i>		to Ningirsu
<i>mu-gub</i>		has presented it,
<i>Lugal-</i>		Lugalshuggur
<i>šug-gur</i> ²		
<i>pa-te-si</i>		(being) patesi
<i>Šir-la-[pur-ki]</i>		of Shirpurla.

Here then we have a new patesi of Shirpurla, viz. Lugalshuggur, a vassal of Mesilim, king of Kish—which latter is put by Entemena in his 'Cône inscription,' col. 2, 6-8, before Eannatum. And since it is hardly possible to imagine that Ur-Ninâ should have a counter-patesi ruling over the same city as he, we are by necessity forced to put Lugalshuggur before the time of Ur-Ninâ. This argument is also strengthened by the palaeographic evidence; see Heuzey, R. A. iii. p. 57. In this same period I would like to place also another king of Shirpurla, viz. Enġegal, mentioned by Hilprecht in Z. A. xi. p. 330 f., who says that '*die Abfassung der Tafel genau genommen sogar noch vor Ur-Ninâ anzusetzen sei*,' ibid. p. 331. And if we add to this list of kings and patesis of Shirpurla another patesi who is mentioned in R. A. iv. No. iii. No. 9 (comp. Thureau-Dangin, ibid. p. 70), as follows:

<i>ud-ba</i>	i. e.	At that time
<i>UR-E-INNANNA-GE</i>		<i>UR-E-INNANNA-GE</i> ³
<i>di-bi-ni-kud</i>		judged,
<i>Gal + (ga)lu-an-da</i>		(and) Lugalanda
<i>pa-te-si-kam</i>		being patesi.

¹ So Hilprecht! Possibly it may be read *E + RU* = 'the builder of the house of.'

² Reading doubtful; see below.

³ Thureau-Dangin reads this name *UR-E-ninni-GE*, ibid.; cp. E. C. No. 294.

and who, according to that scholar's opinion, '*doit sans doute prendre place parmi les successeurs d'Enanadou II*¹,' we might be able to fill up the 500 years which were claimed to lie between Urukagina and Lugalzaggisi, especially if we allow for every king about twenty years, and for the lacunae which exist between certain kings some twenty to fifty years². The succession of governors during these 500 years would then be:

Kish.	Shirpurla.	Erech.
	<i>Uru-ka-gi-na</i> (king)	
	 ³	
	<i>En-ġe-gal</i> (king)	
O. B. I. 108		
<i>Me-silim</i>	<i>Lugal-ġug-gur</i> (patesi)	
<i>Lugal-da ?-ak ?</i>		
.....	(<i>Gur-sar</i>)	
.....	↓	
	(<i>Gu-ni-du</i>)	
	↓	
	<i>Ur-Ninā</i> (king)	
	↓	
	<i>A-kur-gal</i> (king and patesi)	
	┌──────────┴──────────┐	
	<i>E-an-na-tum(a)</i> (king and patesi)	<i>En-an-na-tum(a) I.</i> (patesi)
		↓
		<i>En-teme-na</i> (patesi)
		↓
<i>En-ne-Ugun</i>		<i>En-an-na-tum(a) II.</i> (patesi)
		
		
		<i>Lugal-an-da</i> (patesi)
		
		
		<i>Lugal-zag-gi-si</i>

On p. 9 it was pointed out that the period from Urukagina to Lugalzaggisi preceded that to which Ur-Ba'u belongs. It remains

¹ Compare the *DA*, which still exhibits the curved thumb, and the sign for *lugal* = *gal* + (*ga*)*lu*.

² This allowance we have to make because from the material on hand we do not know how many rulers, for instance, may have reigned between Urukagina and Enġegal, and how many between Enannatuma II. and Lugalanda, &c.

³ The dots signify lacunae.

only to state here, in what succession the various rulers of the different dynasties may have followed which have to be placed between Lugalanda and Ur-Ba'u.

A good starting-point for doing this is furnished by the inscription of Sharganisharâli. If we compare the so-called Gothic inscriptions of this king with those of a certain Âlusharshid and Manishtusu, both kings of Kish, we shall find that they belong approximately to the same period. If we can trust Hilprecht's¹ emendation of a certain omen of Sargon I., published in iv. R². 34, ll. 7-10, we must place Âlusharshid and Manishtusu before Sargon I.

This, however, is a matter of minor importance.

In O. B. I. pl. 36 and 37, are published two fragments of an inscription belonging to a certain Lugalkigubnidudu and his son (?) Lugalkisalsi. Hilprecht, speaking of these texts, says (l. c. p. 271): 'They belong doubtless to the same general period as No. 87 (i. e. the inscriptions of Lugalzaggisi); a detailed examination of their palaeographic peculiarities leads me to place them somewhat later².' Following Hilprecht, we shall place Lugalkigubnidudu and his son after Lugalzaggisi³.

¹ Hilprecht (O. B. I. p. 26) restores that much-mutilated passage as follows:—
'Šar-ge-na ša ina ŠIR an-ni-i Kiš-šu [ki] Bābiluki i-[-šī-]šum-ma epré ša šal-la bābu T'U-NA is-su-šu-ma . . . [ina lime?]-tu A-ga-deki ālu i-bu-šu-ma [UD-DA]-k šum-šī im-bu-u . . . [ina lib-]bi u-še-ši-bu.' 'Sargon, who under this omen brought sorrow upon Kish and Babylon, tore away the earth of . . . and built a city in the vicinity of (or after the pattern of?) Agade, called its name "place (city) of the world," and caused the inhabitants of Kish and Babylon (?) to dwell there.' From this he infers that the dynasty of Kish was overthrown by Sargon I., and that therefore Âlusharshid and Manishtusu are to be placed before Sargon I. Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. 74, thinks that these kings of Kish are '*probablement postérieurs à Naram-Sin*.'

² So far Hilprecht is undoubtedly correct. He however continues, 'and to regard it as about contemporary with the inscriptions of the kings of Shirpurla, especially with those of Edingiranatum (*sic*).' We have already seen that the inscriptions of Lugalzaggisi do not antedate Eannatum, but are, on the contrary, later. And if Lugalzaggisi is later, Lugalkigubnidudu must be later also.

³ In the Chronological Table given below, I placed Lugalkigubnidudu before

To the same period may belong also the predecessors of Gudea and his successors. Hommel, with his natural insight, when writing about the period of the so-called later patesis of Shirpurla, uttered these remarkable words, showing that he was undoubtedly right in his conclusions (Gesch. p. 312): '*In weitem Abstand von ihnen* (i. e. from the older patesis such as Eannatum, see above) *stehen der Kunst- und Schriftentwicklung nach drei spätere Patesi von Sirgurla Ur-Ba'u, Gude'a und dessen Sohn Ur-Ningirsu.*' And a little further down: '*Unter dieser jüngeren Gruppe aber . . . klappt doch auch selbst wieder eine kleinere Lücke von gewiss mehreren Generationen, also unter Umständen 100-200 Jahren, nämlich zwischen dem ersten derselben, Ur-Ba'u, und den übrigen, Gude'a und seinem oder seinen Nachfolgern.*' Thanks to the excavation at Telloh and the industry of the French scholars, we can in a measure fill up the gaps which exist between the older patesi Enannatum(a) II. and the younger Ur-Ba'u, as well as those between Ur-Ba'u and Gudea.

Heuzey, in R. A. ii. p. 79, published an inscription which reads (comp. Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 75):

[<i>Dingir</i> <i>Nin</i>]- <i>gir-su</i>	i. e. Unto Ningirsu,
<i>gud-lig-ga</i>	the mighty hero
(<i>dingir</i>) <i>En-lil-lal</i>	of Enlil,
<i>lugal-a-ni</i>	her king
<i>nam-ti</i>	has for the life
<i>Nam-maḡ-ni</i>	of Nammaḡni,
<i>pa-te-si</i>	patesi
<i>Šir-pur-la-ki-ka-šu</i>	of Shirpurla,
<i>nin Kan-du</i>	the lady Kandu,
<i>dumu Ur-dingir Ba-u</i>	a child of Ur-Ba'u
<i>pa-te-si</i>	the patesi

Sargon I. This, however, is very doubtful. I myself would prefer to place this king before Ur-Ba'u, but after Sargon I.; thus making a closer connection between the first and second dynasty of Ur. The palaeographic evidence seems to tell more for this latter than for the former arrangement.

<i>Šir-pur-la^{ki}-ka</i>	of Shirpurla,
<i>dam-ni</i>	his wife
<i>ša nam-ti-la-ni-šu</i>	also for her life
<i>a-mu-na-[šub]</i>	presented (this object).

Here then we meet with a certain lady Kandu¹, who is the child (daughter) of Ur-Ba'u, but also the wife of Nammaġni, a patesi of Shirpurla. This Nammaġni consequently must—if he could marry a daughter of Ur-Ba'u—have ruled either immediately or not very long after Ur-Ba'u. Thus the gap of 'several generations' between Ur-Ba'u and Gudea is somewhat diminished (comp. above, p. 19).

We are now also in a position to fill up somewhat the '*weiten Abstand*' (p. 19) between Enannatum(a) II., the last of the older patesis of Shirpurla, and Ur-Ba'u. Above, on p. 16, we saw that a certain Lugalanda² must be placed after successors of Enannatum II. And on page 7 ff. we heard of a certain Lugalushumgal, patesi of Shirpurla, a contemporary both of Sargon I. and Naram-Sin. This latter patesi must undoubtedly, since he is a contemporary of Sargon I., be placed before Ur-Ba'u. But further, in R. A. iv. No. iii. pl. ix. No. 31, Thureau-Dangin has published a tablet, on the *revers* of which a certain *UR-E*, patesi of Shirpurla, is mentioned. It is possible that we have here, as Thureau-Dangin has pointed out, l. c. p. 78, a certain *UR-E* who followed his father (?), Lugalushumgal, as patesi of Shirpurla³. If that be true then this *UR-E* must be put before Ur-Ba'u. Hence Hommel's statement above, p. 19, has proved itself to be correct. To the line of the younger patesis of Shirpurla, and after Ur-Ningirsu, the son of Gudea (K. B. iii¹. p. 67 a, col. 1, 8),

¹ So I would like to read with Heuzey. Jensen takes Ninkandu as the proper name of the wife of Nammaġni.

² Although Lugalanda does not belong to *this* period I mention him here in order to show that Hommel was correct in claiming such a great interval between the older and younger patesis of Shirpurla.

³ This *UR-E* also must have been a contemporary of a 'patesi of Ur,' mentioned on the same tablet, *Ur-dingir Utu* (?) by name.

have to be added also the two following, of which Hommel, at the time of writing his history, was not aware, viz. Ur-Ningul and Ġala-Lama.

The portion of the inscription of Ur-Ningul (published in R. A. ii. 79; comp. Oppert, *ibidem*, and Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 77), so far as we are concerned with it here, reads:

<i>(Dingir) Nin-gir-su</i>	i. e. To Ningirsu,
<i>gud-lig-ga</i>	the mighty hero
<i>(dingir) En-lil-lal-ra</i>	of Enlil,
<i>lugal-a-ni</i>	his king,
<i>Ur-dingir Nin-gul</i>	Ur-Ningul,
<i>pa-te-si</i>	patesi
<i>Šir-pur-la-ki-ge</i>	of Shirpurla, for his
<i>nam-ti-la-ni-šu</i>	life
<i>a-mu-na-šub</i>	has presented it.

The inscription of Ġala-Lama (Déc. pl. 21, No. 4, and Jensen, l. c. p. 70) reads:

Column I.

<i>[Am] Šir-[pur-la-ki]-ra</i>	i. e. To the mother of Shirpurla,
<i>[dingir] Ba-u</i>	viz. to Ba'u
<i>[nin-a]-ni</i>	his mistress,
<i>[nam-]ti</i>	for the life
<i>[dingir Du]n-gi</i>	of Dungi,
<i>[lugal li]g-ga</i>	the mighty king,

Column II.

<i>lugal Uru-um-ki-ma</i>	the king of Ur,
<i>lugal Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu-ka-šu</i>	king of Shumar and Akkad,
<i>Ġa-la-dingir Lama</i>	Ġala-Lama,
<i>dumu (Ga)lu-ka-ni</i>	the son of Galukani,
<i>pa-te-si</i>	the patesi
<i>Šir-pur-la-ki-ka-ge</i>	of Shirpurla.

This inscription clearly proves that :

(1) Galukani must have been the last patesi of Shirpurla, for his son Ġala-Lama does not call himself patesi of Shirpurla.

(2) That the immediate successors of the patesis of Shirpurla were the kings of Ur, to which Dungi belongs ; hence the dynasty of the later patesis of Shirpurla was overthrown by these kings of Ur, who apparently were partly their contemporaries.

(3) That Ur-Ningul has to be placed before Galukani, and not, as Jensen (K. B. iii¹. p. 77) does, '*nach der Inschrift Ġala-Lama's.*'

Not only Ġala-Lama, the son, but also Galukani, the father, confesses his dependence upon Dungi, the king of Ur, as is evident from an inscription recently published by Heuzey in R. A. iv. p. 90, which reads ² :

<i>(dingir) Nin-gir-su</i>	To Ningirsu,
<i>gu[d-lig-]ga</i>	the mighty hero
<i>(dingir) [En-l]il-lal</i>	of Bel,
<i>lugal-a-ni</i>	his king,
<i>nam-ti</i>	for the life
<i>Dun-gi</i>	of Dungi,
<i>nitaġ lig-ga</i>	the strong hero,
<i>lugal Uru-um-^{ki}-ma-ka-šū</i>	the king of Ur,
<i>Galukani</i>	(Ga)lukani,
<i>pa-te-si</i>	the patesi
<i>[Ši-pur-la-^{ki}-ge]</i>	of Shirpurla,
<i>[a-mu-na-šub]</i>	has presented it.

This tablet is important in more than one respect. It not only shows that the later patesis of Shirpurla were dependent upon the kings of Ur (second dynasty), but also that even *Galukani* was a contemporary of Dungi I¹.

With this latter inscription we finish the second period, viz. that

¹ Winckler's and Lehmann's view, that Dungi I. was a contemporary of Ur-Ningirsu and Gudea, is erroneous. See below.

² Notice the difference in the titles of Dungi ; and see p. 38, note 1, and *sub* 'Fourth dynasty of Ur.'

from Lugalzaggisi down to Ur-Ba'u and his successors. If we try to arrange this period according to the chronology above indicated, and allow for the different 'gaps' which exist between certain rulers about twenty to fifty years, we shall see that this period may very well cover a space of about 800 years (500 years to the time of Ur-Ba'u and 300 years from Ur-Ba'u to Gala-Lama).

Erech.	Ur.	Kish.	Agade.	Shirpurla.
<i>Lugal-zag-gi-si</i>				
	<i>Lugal-ki-gub-ni-du-du</i>			
	<i>Lugal-kisal-si</i>			
<i>E-zu-ab</i>	.			
	.	<i>Ur-zag-ud-du</i>		
	.	.		
		<i>Lugal-tar-si</i>		
		.		
		O. B. I. 118		
		.		
		<i>Ma-an-iš-tu-su</i>		
		.		
		<i>Ālu-ušar'id</i>		
	.	.		
	.	.	<i>Sargon I.</i>	<i>Lugal-ušum-gal</i>
			3800 B.C.	
				<i>Ur-E</i>
			<i>Naram-Sin</i>	.
			3750 B.C.	.
				.
			<i>Bingani-šar-āli</i>	.
			(comp. R. A.	<i>Ur-Ba'u</i>
			iv. p. 76)	
				<i>Nam-maš-ni</i>
				.
				.
				<i>Gu-de-a</i>
				<i>Ur-Nin-gir-su</i>
				.
				<i>Ur-Nin-gul</i>
				.
				<i>Galu-ka-ni</i>
				<i>Ga-la-Lama</i>
				(contemporary
				of Dungi of Ur)

The inscription quoted on p. 22 (see especially point 2) gives us, as we have seen, a basis for determining the date of the immediate successors of the later patesis of Shirpurla. These successors are the kings belonging to the *second* (not first¹) dynasty of Ur. Of one of these kings of Ur we have heard already, viz. Dungi, the contemporary of Galukani (?) and Ġala-Lama. This Dungi, as we know from an inscription of Nabû-nâ'id, was the son of a certain Ur-Gur, king of Ur. The passage referred to is found in i. R. 68, No. i. (translated by Peiser, K. B. iii². p. 95). It reads (Col. i. l. 12): 'In the inscription of Ur-Gur and of Dungi his son I (i. e. Nabû-nâ'id) found that Ur-Gur had built that zikḡurra, but not completed it. Dungi his son completed its building³.' This Ur-Gur must therefore have been the contemporary of the predecessors of Galukani. This second dynasty of Ur must, however, not be confused with another dynasty of the same city, for it will be seen that the rulers of the third and fourth dynasties bear quite different titles from those of the second. The former rulers invariably call themselves either *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma*, 'king of Ur³,' or more fully *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu-ge*, 'king of Ur, king of Shumer and Akkad⁴.' The representatives of the fourth⁵ dynasty of Ur, on the other hand, have *without exception* the title '*lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba-ge*,' i. e. 'king of Ur, king of the four corners of the world.'

Assuming the adequacy of this distinction, we are obliged to refer the Semitic-Babylonian inscription published in Z. D. M. G.

¹ The first dynasty of Ur, as Hilprecht has pointed out, O. B. I. p. 272, is represented by Lugalkigubnidudu and his son (?) Lugalkisalsi. See p. 23.

² 12 *ī-na mu-sa-ri-e ša Ur-īlu Gur* (so read) 13 *u (īlu) Dun-gi māri-šu a-mur-ma* 14 *ša zik-ḡur-rat šu-a-ti* 15 *Ur-īlu Gur i-pu-šu-ma* 16 *la u-šak-li-lu-uš* 17 *(īlu) Dun-gi māri-šu šī-pir-šu* 18 *u-šak-lil*.

³ Comp. Ur-Gur, i. R. I, No. 1; *ibid.* No. 3; iv. R. 35, i. See however 'Third dynasty of Ur.'

⁴ Ur-Gur, *ibid.* No. 3; and Dungi throughout; comp. K. B. iii¹. p. 76 ff.

⁵ For reasons given below, I divide the so-called third dynasty of Ur into two: the third, which so far is thought to be represented by Gungunu only, and the fourth, beginning with Dungi II and his successors. Notice also the difference in the titles of Gungunu and Dungi II respectively, and comp. p. 38, note 1.

xxix. p. 37 (cp. K. B. iii¹. p. 83), which Winckler places among the inscriptions of Dungi (i. e. Dungi I.) of the second dynasty, to a certain Dungi (called Dungi II.)¹ of the third (or better fourth) dynasty of Ur. The same is true also of O. B. I. 124, which Hilprecht refers to Dungi I.; see Thureau-Dangin, R. S. 1897, p. 74.

Before, however, we try to arrange the kings of the third (fourth) dynasty of Ur, we must first consider the so-called kings of Isin. These kings undoubtedly preceded those of the third dynasty of Ur, as is evident from an inscription published in i. R. 2, No. vi. i. (comp. Winckler, K. B. iii¹. p. 86), where we read :

l. 1.	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Utu</i>	i. e.	For Shamash
			
l. 7.	<i>lugal-a-ni-ir nam-ti</i>		his king,
			has for the life
l. 8.	<i>Gu-un-gu-nu-um</i>		of Gungunu,
l. 9.	<i>ni-taḡ lig-ga</i>		the mighty hero,
l. 10.	<i>lugal Uru-um-ki-ma-</i> <i>ka-šu</i>		king of Ur,
l. 11.	<i>En-an-na-tum-ma</i>		Enannatum(a)
l. 12.	<i>en (?) -zi (<i>dingir</i>) Nanna</i> <i>(URU-KI)</i>		the <i>en</i> (?) -zi of Nannar,
l. 13.	<i>en (<i>dingir</i>) URU-KI</i>		the <i>en</i> (lord) of Nannar,
l. 14.	<i>šag Uru-um-ki-ma</i>		the <i>šag</i> of Ur,
l. 15.	<i>dumu Iṣ-me-<i>dingir</i>-Da-gan</i>		son of Ishme-Dagan,
l. 16.	<i>E-ḠI-LI-a-ni-in-ru</i>		
			
l. 18.	<i>mu-na-ru</i>		built the temple <i>E-ḠI-LI-a-ninru</i> .

This Ishme-Dagan, the father of Enannatum(a), is no other than *Iṣme-Dagan*, *en Unug-ki-ga lugal Ni-si-in-ki-ma lugal Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu*, i. e. the lord of Erech, king of Isin, king of Shumer and Akkad (comp. also i. R. 36, 2, where the same Enannatum(a) calls

¹ The same may be said also of the Semitic inscription published in C. T. part iii. No. 17288, although the title of king Dungi in this inscription is unfortunately broken off.

himself the '*dumu* (*dingir*) *Iš-me* (*dingir*) *Da-gan*, *lugal* *Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu*, i. e. the son of Ishme-Dagan, the king of Shumer and Akkad). From this it follows that :

(1) Ishme-Dagan was the last of the rulers of Isin, because his son does not call himself *lugal* or even *patesi*, bearing only religious titles.

(2) That the dynasty of Isin was overthrown by Gungunu, king of the third dynasty of Ur.

(3) If this dynasty was overthrown by Gungunu, then all the other kings belonging to the same dynasty as Ishme-Dagan must have preceded Gungunu.

Of the kings who call themselves 'king of Isin¹', we have found so far the following :—

<i>(Ia-lu-un-a-sar)</i>
<i>Libit-Anunit</i> ¹
. . .
<i>Iš-kaš-gir-ra</i> ¹
. . .
<i>Ur-Ninib</i>
. . .
<i>Bur-Sin I.</i> ²
. . . ³
<i>Iš-me-Dagan</i>
<i>En-an-na-tum(a)</i> , contemporary of Gungunu.

This Gungunu is the only (?)⁴ representative of the third dynasty of Ur. After a gap of about one hundred years (p. 40 f.), we arrive at the fourth dynasty of Ur, headed by Dungi II. The rulers that

¹ Notice the difference in the titles of these rulers. Ialunasar has no title; Libit-Anunit and Iškašgirra call themselves 'king of Isin' only, while Ur-Ninib, Bur-Sin I., and Ishme-Dagan assume the title 'king of Isin, king of Shumer and Akkad'; Enannatum has no title at all. The development is plain! And therefore also the above arrangement!

² Called Bur-Sin I. in order to distinguish him from Bur-Sin II. of the fourth dynasty of Ur.

³ The dots indicate that we do not know whether one ruler was the son of the other. It is possible that between the different rulers other kings have to be placed.

⁴ Comp. however what has been said on p. 38, note 1, and further below, *sub* 'Third dynasty of Ur.'

belong to this latter dynasty bear the proud title, *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba* (comp. p. 39), and are the following:—Dungi II., Bur-Sin II., Gimil-Sin, Ine-Sin, Idîn-Dagan (Hilprecht, R. R. B. L. p. 84).

In O. B. I. No. 127, rev., last two lines, we find the following date:—

<i>Mu</i> (<i>dingir</i>) <i>Gimil-</i> (<i>dingir</i>) <i>Sin</i>	In the year when Gimil-Sin,
<i>lugal Uru-um-ki-ma-ge</i>	king of Ur,
<i>ma-da Za-ap-ša-li-ki mu-ġul-a</i>	brought evil upon the land of Zapshali.

The earlier part of this tablet contains notices about the reign of Bur-Sin II.; we conclude, therefore, that Gimil-Sin was probably a successor of Bur-Sin II.

This conclusion may be confirmed by the dates of a tablet published by Thureau-Dangin, in R. A. iv. p. 142. On that tablet we find the following dates in succession—

1. *Mu En Unug-ki-ga ba-a-tug*
2. *Mu En dingir Uruk-ki-KAR-ZI-DA ba-a-tug*
3. *Mu (dingir) Gimil-dingir-Sin.*

Nos. 1, 2 occur also on O. B. I. No. 127, obv., 8 and 9, belong therefore to Bur-Sin II., while No. 3 shows that Gimil-Sin must have followed Bur-Sin II.

Thureau-Dangin, in R. S. p. 74, has shown that Dungi II. was the immediate predecessor of Bur-Sin II., by restoring the historical inscription in O. B. I. No. 124, pl. 54, col. vi, as follows:—

[*Ur-*] *Lama*¹
 [*pa-te-*] *si*
 [*mu dingir Du*] *n-gi*
 [*uš-kalag-*] *ga*

¹ Compare now also C. T. part v. Nos. 12913, 12231, 18933, 19024, and especially 18346, rev. col. viii, where all the signs are clear, and where we read: *Ur-dingir KAL* (= *Lama*), *pa-te-si*, *mu dingir Dun-gi*, *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma*, *lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba-ge*, *Ki-maš-ki ħu-mur-ti-ki*, *ša ma-da bi ud-ru(m) mu-ġul, mu-uš-sa-a-bi*.

[lugal U]rum-ki-ma
 [lugal-a]n-ub-da-[tab-la]b-ba-ge
 ki . . .

With this he compares a contract-tablet of the Louvre (A. O. 2572), which has the following inscription:—

Ur-Lama pa-te-si mu Bur-Sin lugal.

‘*Il devient,*’ he says, ‘*par-là infiniment probable: 1^o, que le roi qui a précédé Bour-Sin s’appelait Doungi; 2^o, qu’il ne doit pas être confondu avec Doungi l’Ancien, roi de Shoumer et d’Accad.*’ (Comp. also above, p. 24.)

In R. A. iv. p. 144, the same scholar has published another tablet having these dates:

mu ma-gur-maḡ ba-dim
mu e-dingir-? ba-ru
mu dingir I-ne-dingir Sin.

The two former dates preceding the reign of Ine-Sin he refers, with the help of Constantinople, No. 831, to Gimil-Sin, thus making Gimil-Sin precede Ine-Sin. (See on the whole subject, Thureau-Dangin, R. S. 1897, p. 72 ff.¹) The succession of the kings of the third and fourth dynasty of Ur would then be:—

Third Dynasty.

Gungunu

. . .
 . . .

Fourth Dynasty.

Dungi II.

Bur-Sin II.

Ur-Ba'u II. (see below)

Gimil-Sin

Ine-Sin

Idin-Dagan

¹ Now also O. L. Z. i. 167 ff.

The rulers and representatives of the different dynasties in this period might be arranged as follows:—

Shirpurla.	Ur.	Uruz-Ammann ¹ .	Isin.
(Ga)lu-ka-ni	Ur-Gur		
Ga-la-Lam(a)	Dungi I		
	. . .	Sin-gamil	
	. . .	. . .	
	. . .	Sin-gasid ¹	. . .
			(Ia-lu-un-a-sar)
			Libit-Anunit
			. . .
			Iš-kaš-gir-ra
			. . .
			Ur-Ninib
			. . .
			Bur-Sin I.
			. . .
			Iš-me-Dagan
			En-an-na-tum(a)
. . .	Gungunu ²		
. . .	. . .		
. . .	Dungi II.		
	. . .		
	Bur-Sin II.		
	Ur-Ba'u II.		
	. . .		
	Gimil-Sin		
	. . .		
	Ine-Sin		
	. . .		
	Idin-Dagan		

¹ The date of this small kingdom, to which the above-named two (*sic*) rulers belong, is very doubtful. Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 231, 232) places them 'at about the same period' as Ur-Gur, while Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 206) wants to put them *before* the second dynasty of Ur, but 'um einige Jahrhunderte später als 3800 B.C.'; Lehmann (*Zwei Probleme*, p. 175), even after the fourth dynasty of Ur. I am inclined to place them with all reserve after Dungi I., but before Ur-Ninib; see what is said about these rulers further on.

² See however Chronological Table.

A Chronological Table, containing the names of all ¹ rulers of Old Babylonia from the oldest times down to the time of Hammurabi, the contemporary of Abraham, will be found opposite. A few words of explanation would seem necessary as regards the dates which are there assigned to the different rulers ².

The starting-point of the calculations is Sargon I., 3800 B.C. According to p. 9, Sargon I. belongs to the third period of cuneiform writing, which begins with Lugalzaggisi, and ends with

¹ With the exception of a certain *KU[?]-URU* (see O. B. I. 87, ii. 32, 34)-*dingir Utu*, who calls himself *lugal Ma-uru-ki pa-te-si gal dingir En-lil*, i. e. king of *MA-URU*, the great patesi of Bel; C. T. part v. No. 12146. This king no doubt belongs to the time between Urukagina and Lugalzaggisi. The patesis of Nippur have not been mentioned, because they probably held only religious positions, i. e. they were patesis of Bel rather than of Nippur. Comp. however O. B. I. 94, where Ur-Enlil calls himself *dam-kar-gal*, with O. B. I. 96 and 97, where he has the title *pa-te-si En-lil-ki-da*. If, however, Ur-Enlil was a patesi of Nippur in the secular sense of the term, he must belong to the period preceding Urukagina. The same may be true of *Ur-ma-ma*, the *dam-kar-gal* of Bel, O. B. I. 95, and *ibid.* p. 262, 6. Two other patesis of Nippur, living at the time of Dungi, the *ni-ta-g lig-ga lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal Ki-en-gi-Urdu* (i. e. Dungi I.), are *Ur-dingir* . . . and his father *Lugal* . . . (Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 334). *Ha-aš-ša-mi-ir*, patesi of *Iš(?)-ku-un-Sin*, may belong either to the time of Ur-Gur of the second dynasty of Ur, or to an unknown Ur-Gur of the third dynasty (comp. p. 38, note 1), for in the inscription referred to (i. R. 1, i. No. 10) Hashhamir calls Ur-Gur only *ni-ta-g lig-ga lugal Uru-um-ki-ma*. Other patesis may belong to the period covered by our Chronological Table, as e. g. a certain *KU(?)*-*ŠA-dingir INNANA-ERIN-?* patesi of *INNANA-ERIN^{ki}*—a city frequently mentioned in tablets of the fourth dynasty of Ur—who at the same time is a *šakkanūku ma-ti Elam^{ti}* (U. A. G. p. 157, No. 8); a certain *ilu-Mu-ta-bil*, a *šakkanūku* of *Dūr-iū-ki* (*ibid.* p. 156, No. 7); a certain . . . *ši*, patesi of . . . *mu-tuk . . . ki* (A. F. p. 545, No. 3); a certain . . . *zi*, *lugal AL* (or *GIŠDIN*, not *TE!*) (*ibid.* No. 4); and a certain *Galu-dingir Utu* (Amil-Shamash), patesi of *Gishu^h-ki* (T. C. part i. p. 50, No. 96-6-12, 3). All these names have not been mentioned in our Chronological Table, because they were not important for our chronology. They will be treated of again later on under their respective periods.

² It is hardly necessary to say here, that these dates are only approximate and tentative—thus differing essentially from those of Lehmann, which are given as absolutely certain; so certain that Nabû-nâ'id's statement has to give place to the calculations of that scholar.

◆◆◆

To face p. 30.]

Ur-Ba'u. According to the list on p. 23, Sargon I. and his son Naram-Sin come in the middle of this period, which period was said to extend over a space of 500 years. Hence Lugalzaggisi probably lived at about 4000 B.C., and Ur-Ba'u at about 3500 B.C. In the middle stands Naram-Sin at 3750 B.C.

In making the date of Naram-Sin and Sargon I. the starting-point of our calculation we differ essentially from Thureau-Dangin and Lehmann, both of which scholars make Gudea, as it seems, the starting-point. They fix first the date of Gudea—a date which is arrived at by supplying a 'goodly lot' of 'ifs'—and then they manufacture the date of Sargon I.; and, as we should naturally expect, the result of so precarious an argument is a denial of the accuracy of Nabû-nâ'id's statement. In this they are, however, not alone. The date of Naram-Sin was rejected by Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. (1884) § 133; Winckler, *U. A. G.*, p. 44 ff., and A. F. p. 550: '*Kurz vor der Dynastie von UR I.*' Thureau-Dangin (*R. A.* iv. p. 72) writes: '*Entre l'écriture des tablettes (i. e. the contract (?)—tablets (sur argile) of Sharganisharâli and Naram-Sin) et celle des inscriptions de Gudea, par exemple, il existe des différences assez profondes, ces différences ne peuvent correspondre en aucune façon à l'énorme intervalle d'environ mille ans qui s'impose au cas où on accepte les données de Nabonide. Force est donc de rabaisser dans une large mesure la date généralement attribuée à Sargon et à Naram-Sin, et de placer la domination d'Agadé non pas dans la première, mais dans la seconde moitié, peut-être même vers la fin de la seconde moitié du quatrième millénaire.*'

According to this statement Thureau-Dangin would be satisfied if there existed between Sargon I. and Gudea only about 500 years. Instead, however, of putting Sargon I. further down in time, thus questioning Nabû-nâ'id's statement, that scholar should revise his date of Gudea. Gudea lived, not at 2800 B.C., but at 3300 B.C. (see Chronological Table). A date so uncertain as that of Gudea at present is should not supersede the certain date of Sargon I.

Last of all, the date of Naram-Sin seems to have found a deter-

mined enemy in Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 175 ff.

This scholar finds the same difficulty as Thureau-Dangin (see above, p. 31), viz. that between Gudea and Naram-Sin there exists a space of a thousand years, which is, as he expresses it, 'ein Jahrtausend völliger Leere—ein absolutes Vacuum' (p. 179). But how does that scholar know that Gudea lived exactly at 2700 B.C.; a date which he considers so trustworthy that the one given by Nabû-nâ'id for Sargon I. has to be rejected? He argues:

The date of Kudurnanḫundi I, probably the immediate predecessor of Kudurnuḫgamar (= 𒌷𒍪𒌷𒍪𒌷, Gen. 14) is 2280 B.C. (or 1,635 years before Ashurbanabal). Kudurnuḫgamar¹ was, as we know, a contemporary (?) of Hammurabi (𒂗𒍪𒍪), who reigned, according to this scholar's view, from 2248-2194 B.C., or forty years later, as we have proposed. Forty years, indeed, is not a great difference. This date *might be* accepted, *but* not the dates which he assigns to the dynasties preceding this Elamite invasion under Kudurnanḫundi. Having fixed this date, he says: '*Von dem Elamiten-Einfall zurück bis hinauf zu der bisher sogenannten "ersten Dynastie von Ur" (i. e. the second dynasty: Ur-Gur and Dungi I.) haben wir eine einigermaßen (sic) fortlaufende Kunde, so dass sich die Zeit "der ersten Dynastie von Ur" mit einiger Annäherung (notice his wording!!) berechnen lässt*' (ibid. p. 175). The dynasties which preceded the Elamite invasion are (ibid. p. 175) that of Erech, second (i. e. third) of Ur, Isin, first (i. e. second) of Ur. He also ascribes certain years to these different dynasties, saying: *if* we attribute to the dynasty of Erech fifty years, then we get to the year 2330 B.C. (2280 + 50). *If* we attribute to the second dynasty of Ur at the very most 120 years, then we arrive at the year 2450 (2330 + 120), and 'gehen wir dann weiter zu der Dynastie von Isin, von der uns fünf Herrscher bekannt sind, und rechnen, wiederum reichlich, 150 Jahre, so erreichen wir das Jahr 2600, und wollen wir einen Spielraum für

¹ For the correct reading of this name see I. A. Knudtzon and Fr. Delitzsch in B. A. iv. p. 88 ff. against V. Scheil in R. T. xix, 1896, pp. 40-44.

uns unbekannte Herrscher annehmen, ca. 2650. Der Dynastie von Isin ist die "erste von Ur" vorausgegangen, von der uns zwei Herrscher bekannt sind. Es mögen deren noch mehr gewesen sein, aber ein Jahrhundert ist nach unseren jetzigen Nachrichten schon ein überreicher Ansatz. Der Beginn der "ersten Dynastie" fiel also frühestens ca. 2700 (2750) B. C.' (p. 176). And Gudea, being only one generation ahead of Dungi I., must have reigned therefore 'ebenfalls um oder kurz vor 2700 (2750) höchstens.' This is the way Lehmann manufactures the date of Gudea!! It is so certain Gudea reigned at 2750 that there cannot be any doubt, so absolutely certain that even the dates of Naram-Sin and Sargon, testified to by Nabû-nâ'id, have to give way. But he continues (p. 179): 'Somit haben wir nun folgenden Thatbestand (indeed!?): Um 2700 Gudea und kurz vor ihm Ur-Bau. Um 3750 nach Nabonid's Angabe Naram-Sin und Lugal-ušum-gal. Zwischen beiden also ein Jahrtausend, ein Jahrtausend völliger Leere—ein absolutes Vacuum.' This, however, as he rightly says, cannot be possible, and thus, his conclusion is, Nabû-nâ'id's statement must be wrong (pp. 179, 185). But how does he get over this difficulty? If we read, he tells us, instead of III.M.II.C. (3200) simply II.M.II.C. (2200) in Nabû-nâ'id's statement, where these figures are very clearly written, 'so sind alle Schwierigkeiten behoben' (p. 187). He, however, feels that there must be a somewhat greater space between Naram-Sin (2750) and Gudea (2700) than only fifty years, and thus 'nehmen wir in Nabonid's Angabe den im vorliegenden Fall, bei der Höhe der Zahl, vielleicht etwas niedrig gegriffenen Spielraum von 25 Jahren nach oben und unten an, so ergibt sich, dass Naram-Sin nicht vor 2779 zu regieren aufgehört haben und nicht später als 2713 zur Regierung gekommen sein kann' (ibid. p. 189).

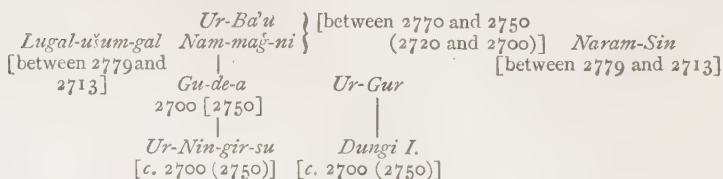
This is that scholar's argument—an argument which required a good deal of *liberality* on Lehmann's part in order to find out the *exact date* of Gudea, 2700 B. C. It would hardly seem necessary to say very much against a date which was established and made an absolute fact (*Thatbestand*) by premises introduced by mere 'ifs.'

But the position of that scholar in the learned world constrains us to answer him.

1. According to Lehmann's calculation the date of Gudea was '*um oder kurz vor 2700 (2750) höchstens B.C.*' (p. 176). Shortly before Gudea (p. 179, note 4) we must place Ur-Ba'u and Nammaġni. Suppose, for the sake of argument, both these rulers reigned only twenty years together, Ur-Ba'u would therefore have begun to reign either about 2720 at the very least, or about 2770 at the most.

Now Naram-Sin, according to Lehmann's argument, must have reigned somewhere between the years 2713 and 2779 (p. 189). Hence, if these calculations are correct, Ur-Ba'u and Nammaġni must have been contemporaries of Naram-Sin. But from inscriptions we know that a certain Lugalushumgal, patesi of Shirpurla, was the contemporary of Naram-Sin. This fact alone shows how utterly groundless Lehmann's calculations are. Or does he believe that at the time of Naram-Sin there were two, or possibly three, patesis in Shirpurla, who were all contemporaries of Naram-Sin? But further, Thureau-Dangin, in R. A. iv. No. iii. pl. ix. No. 31, published a remarkable tablet from the time of Naram-Sin (rev. l. 1), on the reverse of which (l. 5) a certain UR-E, patesi of Shirpurla-^{ki}, is mentioned. The same tablet also mentions on the obverse (l. 9) a patesi of Uru-um-^{ki}ma (=Ur), whose name probably was Ur-(*dingir*) Utu (*Amil-Shamash*)¹.

Now let us make a diagram according to Lehmann's chronology :



¹ The two lines in question read :

Ur-dingir Utu-ge
[na]m (?)-pa-te-si Uru-um-ki-ma

The *NAM* before *pa-te-si* may make it doubtful whether *Ur-dingir Utu* was the

But to this diagram have to be added *UR-E*, patesi of Shirpurla, contemporary of Naram-Sin and the patesi (*UR-dingirUTU?*) of Ur¹. Thus we would have reigning at the time of Naram-Sin (between 2779 and 2713) four patesis (Ur-Ba'u, Nammaġni, Lugal-ushumgal, and Ur-E) in Shirpurla; one king (Ur-Gur), and at the same time one patesi (*Ur-dingirUTU?*) in Ur!! This is the historical solution at which Lehmann arrives!! Indeed, instead of clearing up the subject, Lehmann has only confused it worse than it was before his book was written. This alone would make a further argument unnecessary, but in order to corroborate our position and to show why we assigned to the kings of the different dynasties the dates as given in our Chronological Table, we proceed.

2. Lehmann (ibid. p. 176) makes the statement: 'Sein Sohn (i. e. Dungi's son) *Ur-nin-gir-su* ist *Dungi's* I. Vasall.' As authority for this statement he takes Winckler, U. A. G. p. 42. On account of the importance of that passage we quote it in full: 'Dass zwischen *Dungi* und *Gudea* ein Zeitraum von mindestens 103 Jahren liegen müsse, galt bisher als sicher (*Hommel, Geschichte*, p. 319), durch eine Inschrift des *British Museum* lässt sich indessen mit Sicherheit (sic!?) anders die Frage lösen. Dieselbe steht auf einem Kopfaufsatz einer kleinen Statue bestimmten Gegenstände aus grünem Stein (78, 12-18, 1) und darin widmet "für das Leben *Dungis*, Königs von Ur" *Ur-nin-gir-su* tn ki. aga an *Ninā gid*, der *Ninlil* jenen Gegenstand. Dieser *Ur-nin-gir-su* findet sich nun mit demselben Titel (welcher wahrscheinlich irgend eine priesterliche Würde bezeichnet) auf Backsteinen und einer steinernen Schale aus

person that held the patesiat of Ur at the time of Naram-Sin. So much however is certain, that at the time of Naram-Sin there was a [na]m-pa-te-si of Ur, hence also a patesi.

¹ Lehmann's statement therefore (ibid. p. 183): 'Zwischen *Ur-Gur* von *Ur* und *Dungi* von *Ur* (in *Nippur*) und den ungefähr gleichzeitigen (ibid. p. 176) patesi's *Ur-Ba'u* und *Gude'a* (in *Lagaš*=*Shirpurla*) auf der einen Seite, *Naram-Sin* und *Lugal-ušum-gal* auf der anderen Seite, ist in *Nippur* wie in *Lagaš* nicht ein Herrschernamen erhalten,' betrays ignorance. See our Chronological Table.

Telloh wieder (Heuzey, *Revue arch.* 1886, pl. 2; Sarzec, *Déc.*, pl. 37, 8) und es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass er derselbe ist, welcher auf einer Steininschrift (*Déc.* 37, 9) sich "patesi von Sir-pur-la," Sohn Gudeas, nennt. Er wird bei Lebzeiten seines Vaters eine Priesterwürde bekleidet haben und ist denn nach dessen Tode patesi geworden. Wir erhalten so für die Zeit Dungi's im ganzen mindestens drei von ihm abhängige patesis:

Gudea,
Ur-nin-gir-su, sein Sohn,
Lu-ka-ni (oder Gal-ka-ni).

Wir wissen nicht, welches die Reihenfolge dieser drei war. Wenn Gudea der erste von ihnen war, so wird er noch in die Zeit Urgurs von Ur hineingereicht haben, andernfalls würde dies für Gal-ka-ni eintreffen.¹ This is the locus classicus, on which Lehmann partly builds his chronology.

(a) If this be true, we would—according to inscriptions on hand (see p. 21)—have not only three, but four patesis at least¹, who are dependent upon Dungi:

Gudea,
Ur-Ningirsu, his son,
(Ga)lukani, and
Gala-Lama, his son.

Dungi must clearly have lived to a fabulous age!

(b) Notice that in this inscription Ur-Ningirsu has, according to Winckler, a peculiar 'priesterliche Würde,' which he 'bekleidete bei Lebzeiten seines Vaters,' and this is—the *in ki, aga an Ninā gid*. But these words signify neither a title nor a 'priesterliche Würde'; they mean nothing more nor less than 'the beloved lord of Ninā' (= *en ki-ag* (*dingir*) *Ninā-ge*), and as such they presuppose either a male god or a male human being, who is 'the beloved lord of Ninā.' And if therefore Ur-Ningirsu was no priest nor 'bekleidete eine priesterliche Würde,' it also follows that he did not exercise a priestly

¹ We say 'at least,' for there possibly may be discovered another patesi who lived between Ur-Ningirsu and Galukani (see Chronological Table).

function during the life of his father ; hence, also, that 'Dungi, king of Ur,' did not live '*bei Lebzeiten seines (Ur-Ningirsu's) Vaters.*'

Thus we get rid of a patesi of Shirpurla (Gudea) who is supposed to have lived during the time of Dungi I. Lehmann himself ought to have seen Winckler's curious argument, and not have followed him blindly.

(c) In the inscription above referred to Winckler says that *Ur-Ningirsu dedicates* that '*Gegenstand.*' However, the fact is not so ; neither does *Ur-Ningirsu* dedicate, nor does he *dedicate*, but '*lady Ba'u-ninan makes* something for Ninlil.'

The whole inscription reads (comp. Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 68 ii.):

<i>Nin-lil</i>	For Ninlil
<i>nin-a-ni</i>	his mistress
<i>nam-ti</i>	has for the life
(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Dun-gi</i>	of Dungi,
<i>ni-tag lig-ga</i>	the strong hero,
<i>lugal Uru-um-ki-ma-ka-su</i>	the king of Ur,
(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Ba-u-nin-a-an</i>	Ba'u-ninan
<i>ZABAR-KU</i>	the ZABAR-KU
<i>Ur-(dingir) Nin-gir-su</i>	of Ur-Ningirsu,
<i>en-ki-ag (dingir) Ninâ ka-ge</i>	the beloved lord of Ninâ,
<i>GI-LI nam-sal-ka-ni</i>	for a <i>GI-LI</i> (= ornament) of
	her (= Ninlil's) womanhood
<i>mu-na-dim</i>	made.

One can see instantly that this Ur-Ningirsu is no other than Ur-Ningirsu of Telloh, who later on became patesi ! Lehmann, of course, is of the same mind as Winckler. This fitted well into *his* chronology. From the inscription, however, above quoted it is not certain who either this Ur-Ningirsu (together with that mentioned in Déc. 37, 8¹) or that 'Dungi, king of Ur,' were. For be it remembered that we have *two* Dungs², both being 'kings of Ur.'

¹ That inscription reads: Ur-Ningirsu, the *en-me-zi* of Anna, the *me-ad-azag* (probably = an attribute to Anna), the 'beloved lord' of Ninâ. (See on the other hand Jensen's translation in K. B. iii¹. p. 67.)

² *At least* two, probably three ; see p. 38, note 1.

(d) The very fact that Ur-Ningirsu here, as well as in Déc. 37, 8, has not the title 'patesi,' which we find in all the other inscriptions of Ur-Ningirsu, patesi of Shirpurla, is reason and proof enough that he cannot be identical with that well-known patesi. 'Dungi, king of Ur,' may also be Dungi II., although this is not very probable¹; it is more likely that we have here a *new* Dungi, belonging to the third dynasty of Ur.

The result then is:

In the inscription there is not one syllable to prove that the Ur-Ningirsu there mentioned is Gudea's son. The very fact, however, that in case Ur-Ningirsu were a contemporary of Dungi—which Winckler wants to prove and which Lehmann accepts as proved—we should have at least four patesis² during the lifetime of Dungi, shows clearly enough that Winckler's hypothesis is improbable, yes, impossible.

3. Above it has been shown that not only Ġala-Lama, but also his father, was dependent upon Dungi I. (?), son of Ur-Gur. At the present we, however, do not know if Ur-Ningirsu was the

¹ It will be noticed that the Dungi here has exactly the same title as Gungunu (i. R. 2, No. vi. 1), viz. *nitaḡ lig-ga lugal Uru-um-ki-ma-ka-šu*. Ought we therefore to place this Dungi after Gungunu, and thus distinguish between the following three Dungs:

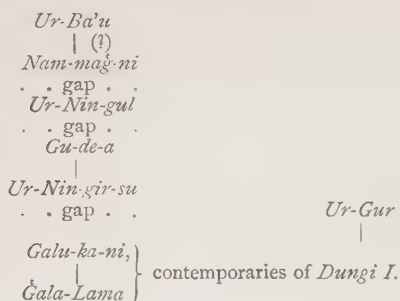
Dungi I. (II. Ur): *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu*;

Dungi II. (III. Ur): *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma-ka-šu*;

Dungi III. (IV. Ur): *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal an-ub-da-tab-tab-ba-ge*, or in Semitic: *šar Uri šar ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im*? If this be true, then we ought to distinguish also between Ur-Gur I. (II. Ur): *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma lugal Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu*, and *Ur-GUR II.* (III. Ur): *lugal Uru-um-ki-ma*. This seems to be the most probable view. For a discussion of the question whether Dungi I. may not be the same as Dungi II. (comp. Winckler, O. L. Z. i. 238, and Thureau-Dangin, *ibid.* p. 174), see *sub* Fourth dynasty of Ur. We believe that we have to distinguish between these rulers according to their titles. In our Chronological Table we have indicated this sufficiently. We ask the reader to bear in mind that wherever Dungi II. is mentioned in our text, he is the Dungi III. of our Chronological Table, and Ur-Gur = Ur-Gur I., Dungi = Dungi I., Galukani = Galukani I., &c., &c.

² And these patesis themselves must have lived quite a number of years, especially Gudea and Ur-Ningirsu.

father of (Ga)lukani, and thus a contemporary of Ur-Gur. As long as we do not know this we are justified in placing a 'gap' between Ur-Ningirsu and Galukani. This 'gap' would remove Ur-Ningirsu at least one generation from Galukani, and thus put him also before Ur-Gur. In our Chronological Table we placed Ur-Ningul between Galukani and Ur-Ningirsu. Whether he belongs there or not does not affect our argument. If he does not we would have to place him before Gudea, supplying between this latter ruler and the former again a 'gap.' In this case Ur-Ningul simply would reduce the gap between Ur-Ba'u and Gudea¹. Further, we do not know whose son Gudea was. Consequently we must supply a gap between Gudea and Ur-Ningul and between Ur-Ningul and Nammağni. We obtain then the following succession:—



This shows clearly that Ur-Ningirsu cannot have been the contemporary of Dungi. In our table we assigned to Gudea a reign of about fifty years—on account of the many buildings he executed, the material for which buildings he got from the most distant places—all which must have consumed much time. Between Ur-Ba'u and Gudea we claimed a space of about 200 years² on account of

¹ This however would prove fatal again. For, if this arrangement were correct, then Naram-Sin would be a contemporary of *at least* five patesis of Shirpurla, viz. Ur-Ba'u, Nammağni, Lugalushungal, *UR-E*, Ur-Ningul—all living between the years 2779 and 2713 B.C.—and a contemporary of one patesi of Ur and also of king Ur-Gur of Ur!! See p. 34.

² See p. 19.

palaeographic evidence—the sign for *KA* shows that clearly. Thus it will be seen that our arrangement is *true* to the present state of science, claiming ‘gaps’ where we do not know the succession of rulers, and where palaeography enjoins us to do so. If we bear this in mind, we are fully justified in assigning for the space between Ur-Ba’u and (Ga)lukani about 350 years.

Lehmann very generously (*‘überreichlicher Ansatz’*) ascribes to the dynasty of Isin 150 years; we, 200 years. Lehmann again forgets that we have to allow for unknown rulers and for the gaps existing between them (comp. also his ‘Tabelle I: *Reihenfolge unbestimmt*’) some more years; thus *two hundred years* at least must be ascribed to this dynasty.

Isin was overthrown by Gungunu. Further below it will be shown that there is an important difference in the titles of Gungunu and Dungi II. ; the former *being called* only *king of Ur*, while the latter is always termed *king of Ur, king of the four corners of the world*. This difference is a very marked one. Had Gungunu been also ‘king of the four corners of the world’—thus belonging to the same dynasty as Dungi II.—surely Enannatum(a) would not have dared to attribute to his lord so humble a title. Again, we do not know that Dungi II. was the son of Gungunu; thus we are forced by necessity—if we wish to be scientific—to claim another gap between these two rulers¹; and since their titles are so very different, it follows that this gap must be a considerable one; nay, it seems to show that Gungunu belongs to a different dynasty. And even *if* this were not the case, the very fact that Dungi II. must have conquered the four corners of the world before he could assume this title—a feat not achieved in a few days—is reason enough to claim for this gap 100 years. (Comp. also Sargon I., who conquered the four corners of the world, but only Naram-Sin, his son, called himself ‘*šar kibrat arba’im*.’)

As regards the succession of the rulers of the third (i. e. fourth) dynasty of Ur, it is, even according to Thureau-Dangin (against Lehmann, p. 174), Dungi II., Bur-Sin H. (Ur-Ba’u, son of Bur-

¹ Comp. also Winckler, U. A. G. pp. 39, 40.

Sin II.), Gimil-Sin, Ine-Sin, and according to Hilprecht also, Idîn-Dagan.

Lehmann assigns to this dynasty—again very generously ('*sehr reichlich*')—about 120 years. But he is able to ascribe *with certainty* to four rulers of this house 67 years (see Tabelle I: 12 + 5 + 9 + 41 years), thus making their dynasty last about twice as long as he can prove.

Further on it will be shown that we can ascribe to the different rulers of this dynasty with *certainty* the following number of years:—

to Dungi II.: 51 years.

Bur-Sin II.: 13 „

Gimil-Sin: 10 „

Ine-Sin: at least 2

not classified dates: 10 years—total¹ 86 years.

Doubling, as Lehmann does, this number, we would get about 172 years, and allowing for Ur-Ba'u, son of Bur-Sin II., and Idîn-Dagan only 20 years, we would be able to fill up the 200 years for this dynasty. But all the rulers of this dynasty are not yet known, nor do we know whether one was the *immediate* successor of the other; thus we may take Lehmann's 50 years for the '*Spielraum für uns unbekannte Herrscher.*' This would make this dynasty rule for about 250 years².

For the two rulers of the dynasty of Erech, who are *not said* to have been father and son, we ascribe 100 years—50 years more than Lehmann does. It is hardly possible to imagine that only these two rulers should have reigned in Erech.

¹ Since the publication of 'Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum,' Parts I-VI, we are able to increase this 'total' by about ten years more. See *sub* 'Fourth dynasty of Ur.'

² As is apparent from our Chronological Table, we have divided the so-called third dynasty of Ur into two: viz. the third and the fourth. Six rulers we were able to enumerate as belonging to the latter dynasty. Claiming an average reign of twenty years for each king, we would get about 120 years. But we know that Dungi II. alone reigned fifty-one years at least; we have to add therefore thirty years to those 120 years. Furthermore, we ought to allow about 100 years for the gaps and for the unknown rulers. Thus we may very well be allowed to make this dynasty rule about 250 years. See Chronological Table.

In regard to our difference in fixing the date of Hammurabi, we need not spend many words, for this difference is only one of 40 years.

The predecessors of Hammurabi reigned 112 years.

Now let us count up these figures and see where we can put Ur-Ba'u.

2288 (date of Hammurabi)¹ + 112 years = 2400 B.C.: beginning of the first dynasty of Babylon in the north and that of Larsa in the south, both of which dynasties divide 'the kingdom of the four corners of the world' under Ur IV.² These troubles must have been of grave consequence, for they bring another people (the Elamites) into Babylonia under Kudurnanḫundi, who undoubtedly tried to take advantage of the confusion in Babylon. Probably there was even anarchy in Babylon before Babylon I.² acquired the dominion.

2400 + 250 (=number of years during which Ur IV. reigned) brings us to about 2650, and including the anarchy, to 2700 B.C. Between Dungi II. and Gungunu lie about 100 years = 2800; 200 years for Isin = 3000 B.C.; 100 for Erech = 3100 B.C. At this time reigned, or better *ceased* to reign, Ur II. (Dungi I.); Galukani, his contemporary, *began* to reign at about 3150. Between Galukani and Ur-Ba'u are about 350 years, hence Ur-Ba'u probably reigned at about 3500, and Naram-Sin at 3750—only a space of about 250 years (!). These 250 years are partly covered by Ur-E, patesi of Shirpurla, and Ur-Utu (?), patesi of *Uru-um-ma* (Ur).

Where does Lehmann's *vacuum* remain? Thureau-Dangin was satisfied to claim a space of about 500 years between Naram-Sin and Gudea. Will Lehmann be content with 250 years—just one-half of Thureau-Dangin's concession?

Indeed, 250 years is not much, if we remember that we are only *beginning* to know something about Old Babylonian history and chronology.

¹ For the different dates assigned to Hammurabi see F. Hommel, *Altisrael. itische Überlieferung*, pp. 120, 121; J. Orr, *Expository Times of March*, 1897, pp. 161-177; Fr. Hommel, *ibid.*, March, 1899, p. 278.

² Short expressions for 'Fourth dynasty of Ur,' and 'First dynasty of Babylon,' which latter generally is called the 'Hammurabi dynasty.'

4. Lehmann, however, tries to argue from palaeography that Naram-Sin cannot have lived before 2750 B.C., saying (p. 177):

‘Es wird Manchem ergangen sein wie mir, den bei einem Vergleich der Schriftzeichen auf der Vase Narâm-Sin’s mit den Strichfiguren der älteren und ältesten Documente aus Telloh stets ein Gefühl völliger Rathlosigkeit beschlich, wenn er sich danach den Gang der Entwicklung, zunächst auf palaeographischem Gebiet, klar machen wollte. Auf der einen Seite wohl entwickelte Formen vollendeter Keilschriftzeichen, die aus dem Jahre 3750 stammen sollen, auf der anderen Seite ungleich primitivere Strichfiguren, die um das Jahr 3000 in Gebrauchsein müssen.’

One may well ask, how does Lehmann know that the signs in the older and oldest documents from Telloh *must have been in use* at about 3000 B.C.? On the contrary, on the authority of Nabû-nâ'id, we know that the writing as exhibited on the tablets of Sargon I. *must have been in use* at 3800 B.C.; hence *‘die ungleich primitiveren Strichfiguren’* of the oldest rulers in Telloh must be older, must antedate Sargon I., as has been shown above.

It is impossible to follow Lehmann’s arguments. We must hold to the accuracy of Nabû-nâ'id’s statement, and not give it up for a doubtful date, as that of Gudea necessarily must be. Naram-Sin then reigned at 3750 B.C.¹, and Gudea at somewhere about 3300 B.C.

King of Kengi.

The oldest king of Babylonia, of whom we have any record, is Enshagkushanna², whose date we have placed before 4500 B.C. He

¹ So also Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, i. p. 89; Latrille, *Z. K.* ii. 357; Tiele, *Geschichte*, 114; Hommel, *Geschichte*, 166, 309; Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte*², 72; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 599; Hilprecht, *O. B. I.* p. 241.

² That this is the right pronunciation of the name—and not *En-šag-sag-an-na* (Hilprecht)—has been shown by Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.* iv. p. 70, note 6. *KUŠ*, see E. C. 192. *SAG* differs considerably; comp. T. C. 221 and E. C. 191. The name may mean ‘Wise (*šag-kuš*, Br. 8049, *muštālu*) is the lord (*en*) of heaven’ (*an-na*). Hilprecht translated the name according to his reading,

calls himself 'lord of Kengi¹,' the southern(?) part of Babylonia. As to his nationality, whether he was a so-called 'Sumerian' or a 'Semite,' we have no means of knowing². Besides 'lord of Kengi,' he seems to have had another title, viz. 'king of . . .' The lacuna probably contained the name of the capital of the kingdom³. He must have waged war against Kish in Northern Babylonia, which city he terms 'wicked of heart.' He was the victor, and presented the spoil to 'Enlil, king of the lands.' Enlil—the later Bel—was the chief god in Nippur; Nippur accordingly was called *En-lil-ki*, the 'city of Enlil.' Hence Enlil of Nippur seems to have been the god who wielded the chief influence over the inhabitants of Early Babylonia. From inscriptions of certain patesis of Shirpurla, as well as from those of Lugalzaggisi, we know that this temple was under the control of the king, who called himself accordingly *patesi-gal*, 'the great patesi.' But it also had its own 'chief local administrator,' the *dam-kar-gal*⁴, who in his turn had several minor priests or patesis under him. The cult of this god seems to have been well arranged; the king, being the *summus episcopus*,

'Lord is the king of heaven.' His inscriptions are published in O. B. I., Nos. 90, 91, 92; comp. Hilprecht, l. c. p. 261 ff.

¹ See O. B. I. 90, l. 4 and note; p. 58, note 6.

² But see under Lugalzaggisi.

³ Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 262: 'In all probability it was Erech'; and l. c. note 2: 'The traces do not point to the ideogram of Unug, more to kalama.'

⁴ Comp. for instance O. B. I. No. 94, and l. c. p. 262, 6:

1. <i>Dingir Nin-din-gug</i>	i. e.	To Ba'u
2. <i>Ur-(dingir) En-lil</i>		Ur-Enlil
3. <i>dam-kar-gal</i>		the damkargal
4. <i>a-mu-šub</i>		presented it.

That this inscription belongs to this period, see above, p. 19. Ba'u, see Br. 11084, is called there the *be-el-tum mu-bal-lil-la-at mi-i-ti*, which does not mean 'the goddess who destroys life' (Hilprecht), but 'the goddess who restores the dead to life'—a difference! See O. B. I. p. 252, note 6. For *dam-kar-gal* see Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 262, note 6, = 'the chief agent'; *a-mu-šub*, see Lugalzaggisi, iii. 40, note.

This inscription is found on a stèle with human figures on it, 'which show the characteristic features of a mixed race.' Hilprecht promptly concludes: 'The Semites must have been at this time in the country.'

had a host of other officers (priests) under him, who exercised the ordinary functions of the so-called 'priesthood' of Bel.

The inscription of this oldest of all kings reads:

O. B. I. No. 90.

Cp. Hilprecht, l. c. p. 264, note 1, and Winckler, A. F. p. 372.

	<i>Dingir En-lil</i>	i. e.	To Enlil,
	<i>lugal kur-kur-ra</i>		king of the lands,
	<i>En-šag-kuš-an-na</i>		Enshagkushanna,
	<i>en Ki-en-gi</i>		lord of Kengi,
5	<i>lugal</i>		king of

O. B. I. No. 91.

<i>[dingir] En-lil-la</i>	To Enlil
<i>En-šag-kuš-an-na</i>	Enshagkushanna
<i>. . . . ga Kiš-ki</i>	[the spoils] of Kish

90, l. 4. *Ki-en-gi*, according to ii. R. 39, 9; v. R. 29, 45-47; A. O. V. 1887, p. 20, No. 7, means = *mātu*, 'land, lowland.' The meaning of *Ki-en-gi*, 'the land of canals and reeds' (Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 252, note 9), rests solely on the supposition—(1) that *Ki-en-gi* is = *Ki-e-gi*; (2) that *e-gi* are the constituents of Kalam, see Lugalzaggisi, col. iii. 29. According to Delitzsch, on the other hand, *Ki-en-gi* would mean, 'das Land des grossen Gefüges von Leuten.' In the bilingual inscriptions of Hammurabi the expression *Ki-en-gi-ki-Urdu* is translated by: *mātu Šumeri u Akkadī*. On account of which translation scholars have derived 'Šumer' from '*Ki-en-gi*,' or '*Ki-en-gin*.' See Lehmann, Šamašsumuktn, p. 86; Hommel, Geschichte, p. 234, note 1; and especially further below, *sub* 'Shumer and Akkad.'

O. B. I. No. 92.

<i>dig-ga Kiš-ki</i>	the spoil of Kish,
<i>šul-šag</i>	wicked of heart,
<i>a-mu-na-šub</i>	he presented.

92, l. 1. *dig-ga*, Br. 5320, *narābu*, H. W. B. 480 = that which is torn off = spoil. Br. 5324, *rukku*, H. W. B. 627 = *Beutestücke*, *Tributstücke*.

2. *šul* = *igi* + *ur* = *inu* + *nakru* = eye + evil, inimical. Delitzsch, Schriftsyst., p. 49.

These three fragments apparently supplement each other. The complete text probably ran as follows: To Enlil, the king of the lands, Enshagkushanna, lord of Kengi, king of . . . , presented the spoil of Kish, wicked of heart.

Few as the historical notices are, yet they enable us to get an insight into the condition of the land and of the people at this remote time. They show us that a struggle went on between the south (Kengi) and the north (Kish), which struggle lasted undoubtedly for several centuries.

Prominent cities at this time were the capital of Kengi (i.e. Shirpurla-Girsu, as we shall see later on; not Erech (Hilprecht)), Nippur, and Kish.

It is necessary, however, before tracing the different steps in the development of Kish, to turn our attention to a kingdom called in the inscriptions 'Shirpurla.' The inscriptions of the rulers of this kingdom give us an impression of a power and might which presuppose *centuries* for its development. All that we know of its art¹ and civilization tends in the same direction.

The Rulers of Shirpurla.

Shirpurla is the modern *Tell-Loh*, where De Sarzec found the inscriptions relating to the rulers of this dynasty. It is situated fifteen hours north of Mugheir, on the east side of the Shatt-el-Hai, and about twelve hours east of Warka. At this early time the city of Shirpurla seems to have included four component parts, viz. Girsu, Ninâ, Uruazagga, Erim. Thus it happened that one and the same king might call himself either 'king of Shirpurla' (comp. Urukagina, Clercq, ii, pl. viii. col. i. 4, 5), or 'king of Girsu' (comp. Barrel-Cyl., col. i. 4, 5). These suburbs were built

¹ See the so-called 'Vase d'Argent' in Déc. pl. 43^{bis}, with the emblem of Shirpurla: the lion-headed eagle with outspread wings, having put its clutches into the back of two lions, whose hinder parts are turned towards each other. Sometimes this eagle appears alone. See Heuzey, *Les Armoiries Chaldéennes*.

by various rulers in honour of their favourite gods or goddesses. Whether Shirpurla is the right reading, or Shirgurla, we do not know. According to Pinches, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 7, London, 1883, and *Babyl. Records*, iii. p. 24, Shirpurla may be read Lagash, which reading is adopted throughout by Jensen in *K. B.* iii¹. We retain the old reading Shirpurla, because this writing occurs most frequently in the monuments.

The rulers of Shirpurla may conveniently be grouped under four divisions:

(1) The dynasty of Urukagina—beginning with this ruler or his predecessor(s)¹ and ending with Lugalshuggur and his successor(s).

(2) The dynasty of Ur-Ninâ, ending with Enannatum II.

(3) The patesis between Enannatum II. and Ur-Ba'u.

(4) Ur-Ba'u and his successors, ending with Ġala-Lama.

Dynasty of Urukagina.

To Urukagina², the oldest member of the first dynasty of Shirpurla, we have assigned the approximate date of 4500 B.C. His greatness consisted not so much in successful wars against the neighbouring cities, as in securing a peaceful administration for his country and

¹ It is very probable that Urukagina had some predecessors. The classification is made only on the basis of the inscriptions so far extant. It also may be possible that Enġegal preceded Urukagina. Without being able to prove either one or the other, we content ourselves with the above-given arrangement.

² For the meaning of this name, see note to l. 39 of *Déc. pl.* 5, No. 1. His inscriptions are:

Cleccq, ii. pl. viii., translated by Oppert, *ibid.* pp. 72, 77; see also Oppert, *Accad. des Inscriptions*, 1884, février; Amiaud, *R. P.* i. p. 68, and *Déc. p.* xxx; Hommel, *Z. K.* ii. p. 182; Halévy, *R. Arch.* 1884, i. 109 ff.

Pierre de Seuil, *Déc.* 5, fig. 1; Amiaud, *ibid.* p. xxx; *R. P.* i. 69 f.

Barrel-Cylinder, *Déc.* 32; Amiaud, *ibid.* p. xxx, and *R. P.* i. p. 17 ff.; Jensen, *K. B.* iii¹, p. 10.

British Museum, *A. H.* 82, 7-14; comp. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 43, *A.* 1. Winckler, *A. B. K.*, No. 2.

city. As 'king of Girsu-Shirpurla,' he devoted his energy to the building of different storehouses, that should take up 'the abundance of the countries,' and erected temples for different gods—thus showing his devotion and piety. He built 'for Ninâ the beloved canal, the canal *Ninâ-ki-tum-a*,' and thus supplied his city with water (see note to Déc. 32, col. iii. 6). Bel of Nippur still exercises the highest influence. Ningirsu ('the lord of Girsu') is the chief city god, under whose control the capital stands. He is the *GUD* or 'hero' of Enlil. In somewhat later inscriptions, Ningirsu has the title *gud lig-ga*, 'the strong hero' of Enlil. Many other gods are mentioned in his inscriptions; for particulars the reader may be referred to the inscriptions which follow:—

Clercq, ii. pl. viii. No. 1. Cp. Oppert, *ibid.* pp. 72, 77.

Col. I.

	(<i>Dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su</i>	For Ningirsu,
	<i>gud</i> (<i>dingir</i>) <i>En-lil-lal-ra</i>	the hero of Enlil,
	<i>Uru-ka-gi-na</i>	Urukagina,
	<i>gal-(ga)lu</i>	king
5	<i>Šir-la-pur-ki-ge</i>	of Shirpurla,
	<i>e-ni</i>	his house
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>e-gal Ti-ra-aš-ka-ni</i>	The palace of his Tirash
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.

Col. II.

<i>An-la-sur-(ra)-ra</i>	The Antasurra
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I. 8. Tirash is called in Déc. 2, 1, col. iii. 1; Déc. 5, 1, 9, only *E*. Comp. also Barrel-Cyl. i. 6-9.

II. 1. *An-ta-sur-ra* is explained in the Barrel-Cyl. col. i. 1. 7 and in Déc. 5, 1, 1. 7, by *e-ge-gal-kalam-ma*, 'the house of the abundance of the lands.' The first *RA* seems to be an erasure. Comp. also Cône of Entemena, col. iv.

	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>E-giš-me-ra</i>	The Egishmera
	<i>E-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra-šu</i>	to be an Enebi-kurkura
5	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>E-KAŠ + GAR-bi KAK-gal-</i> <i>kur-ta-DU-a</i>	His storehouse
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Dun-šag-ga-na-ra</i>	For Dunshagga
	<i>ki-akkil</i>	the Kiakkil

Col. III.

	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Gal-alim-ma-ra</i>	For Galalim

30, and Galet A of Eannatum, col. v. 2-7; vi. 21; vii. 2. This Antasurra seems to have been a very celebrated storehouse, for we find its name even at the time of Ur IV.; cp. E. A. H. 91.

3. *E-giš-me-ra* is explained here by *E-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra*; comp. Déc. 5, 1, 11. 33, 34, where we have *E-me-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra* explaining *E-bar-ra*. It seems therefore probable that, if *E-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra* = *E-me-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra*, *E-giš-me-ra* = *E-bar-ra*. In 'Tablette A' of Entemena, R. A. ii. pp. 148, 149, rev., col. i. 1, 2, *Emenebi-kur-kur-ra* explains *An-ta-sur-ra*. But *An-ta-sur-ra* is explained above (note to col. ii. 1) by *e-ġe-gal-kalam-ma*; hence *E-(me)-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra* has the same meaning as *e-ġe-gal-kalam-ma*, i. e. 'house of the abundance of the lands,' and because *E-giš-me-ra* = *E-bar-ra* = *An-ta-sur-ra*, it follows that all three are similar buildings. See also R. A. iii. p. 120, note 1, and especially Barrel-Cyl. i. 6-9.

6. The second sign is *KAŠ* (*bī*) + inserted *GAR*; see also Déc. 6, 4; Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 18, note 2, 'Nahrungshaus'; Thureau-Dangin, 'maison de vivre,' R. A. l. c. p. 119. Comp. also 'Tablette A' of Entemena, rev., iii. 3.

The expression *KAK-gal-kur-ta-DU-a* is difficult.

KAK = *du*, Br. 5256; *kalū*, H. W. B. p. 329: 'Gesamtheit.' *gal*, Br. 6841; *butuġtu*, H. W. B. p. 191; 'Überflutung' = fig. for *ġigallu*.

Du = *iii*¹ of *alāku*, H. W. B. p. 68.

We might translate: his storehouse (*e-kaš-gar-bi*), which bringeth (*DU*) all (*KAK*) the abundance (*gal*) into the land (*kur-ta*); or better: 'into which goeth all the abundance of the land.' Amiaud: 'qui met l'abondance (?) dans le pays.'

9. See Gudea votive tablet 8, Br. 2708: *ikkillu*, H. W. B. p. 55: 'the house of lamentation.'

III. 2. *alim*, T. C. 208; Br. 8882.

	<i>E-me-gal-kiš (ġuš)-an-ki</i>	the Emegalkishanki
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
5	<i>E-(dingir) Ba-u</i>	The house of Ba'u
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>(dingir) En-lil-la</i>	For Enlil
	<i>E-ad-da</i>	the Eadda
	<i>im-sag-ga-ka-ni</i>	of his imsagga

Col. IV.

	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Bur-sag</i>	The great 'Vase,'
	<i>E-SA-DUG an-na-bi-ni-ga-sag-a</i>	the house of the sattūku, the top
		of which goeth very high,
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
5	<i>Uru-ka-gi-na</i>	Urukagina,
	<i>gal-(ga)lu</i>	king
	<i>Šir-la-ki-pur</i>	of Širpurla,
	<i>galu E-ninnū</i>	who the Eninnū

3. *kiš*, T. C. 204; *ġuš*, T. C. 206; these two signs have been very often confounded. The whole expression may signify: *bīt ma'dāti rabīti ša kiššat šami ù irṣiti*.

8, 9. Comp. Tablette A of Entemena, rev. i. 5, 6.

IV. 3. *E-SA-DUG*, written *E-DI-KA*, see H. W. B. p. 513: *di-ka* = *sa-dug* = *sattūku*, *sattukku*, 'festgesetzte Tempelabgabe.' *an-na-bi-ni-ga-sag-a* may mean: high (*an-na-bi*; *bi* = adv. Br. 5139) goeth (*ni-ga*, Br. 6108) its top (*sag-a*). Amiaud translates the whole line: 'son temple qui s'élève jusqu'à l'approche des cieux?' Comp. Déc. 5, 1, l. 13.

8. *E-ninnū*, i. e. 'the house of the number 50.' Fifty is the sacred number for Ningirsu-Ninib, see v. R. 37, 18. This Eninnū is also said (Déc. 7, 8, col. iii. 6) to be that of (*dingir*) *Im-gig-mi* *ġu-bar-bar*, which Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 23, note *†, explains as the house of that god 'welcher den finstern (gig) Himmel (im) erhellen (bar-bar) möge (ġu), und spielt auf Ninib als die Frühsonne an.' That this was the temple of Ningirsu-Ninib is evident from Gudea B, v. 12 ff.; (*dingir*) *Nin-gir-su lugal-a-ni nig-du-e pa-mu-na-ud-du E-ninnū* (*dingir*) *Im-gig-bar-bar-ra-ni mu-na-ru*; comp. also Gudea D, ii. 7 (Déc. 9). It had a so-called *gi-gunu*, which was built out of cedar-wood: Gudea B, v. 18; D, ii. 9; Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 33, note †*. Gudea, Ur-Ningirsu, and some later patesis repair the Eninnū as well as the *gi-gunu*, Déc. 37, 9, ii. 5.

	[3 lines mutilated]	
17	 <i>ni</i>	
	[3 lines mutilated]	
	[<i>mu</i>]- <i>na-ru</i>	he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-sar</i>	For Ninsar,
23	<i>šag š-lal</i>	the <i>šag š-lal</i>
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su-ka-ra</i>	of Ningirsu,
25	<i>e-ni</i>	his house
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>gir</i>	For <i>gir</i> ,
	[<i>ki</i>]- <i>ag</i>	the beloved
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su-ra</i>	of Ningirsu,
30	<i>e-ni</i>	his house
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su-ra</i>	For Ningirsu
	<i>E-bar-ra</i>	the Ebarra (sanctuary),
	<i>e-me-ne-[bi]-kur-kur-ra</i>	the Emenebikurkura,
35	<i>mu-na-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>e-ab</i>	The <i>E-ab</i>
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su-ra</i>	for Ningirsu
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Uru-ka-gi-na</i>	Urukagina,
40	<i>galu e</i>	who the house
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su</i>	of Ningirsu
	[<i>ru-a</i>]	has built.
		

23. The first sign = *šag*? 'heart-bearer'? = beloved? Amiaud, *porte*-[*gl*aive?]

33. *bar* = T. C. 125 = sanctuary (*parakku*). It is explained here by *E-me-ne-bi-kur-kur-ra*; comp. le Clercq, col. ii. 3, 4, and note to it. It would seem, therefore, that Egishmera is a sanctuary.

39. Means: city (*uru*), mouth (*ka*), true (*gina*) = the city of the true mouth. Jensen: 'Stadt der Wahrheit' oder 'in der Stadt ist Wahrheit' (?).

43 ff. Have probably to be supplied according to le Clercq, col. iv. 10 and col. v.

(Barrel-Cylinder.)

Déc. 32. Comp. Amiaud, Déc. pp. xxx and xxxi.

Col. I.

	[<i>Dingir</i> <i>Nin-gir-su</i>]	i. e.	For Ningirsu
	[<i>gud</i>] [<i>dingir</i>] <i>En</i> -[<i>hîl-la</i>]- <i>ra</i>		the hero of Enlil,
	<i>Uru-ka-gi-na</i>		Urukagina,
	<i>gal</i> + (<i>ga</i>) <i>lu</i>		king
5	<i>Gir-su-ki-ge</i>		of Girsu,
	<i>An-ta-sur-ra</i>		the Antasurra,
	<i>E-ġe-gal-kalam-ma-ni</i>		his house of the abundance
			of land(s),
	<i>e-gal Ti-ra-aš-ka-ni</i>	(and)	the great house of his Tirash,
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>		he has built.
10	<i>E</i> -(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Ba-u</i>		The house of Ba'u
	[<i>mu-na</i>]- <i>ru</i>		he has built.

Col. II.

			
	<i>mu</i> -[<i>na-ru</i>]	i. e.	he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) [<i>Dun-šag</i>]- <i>ga</i> -[<i>na-ra</i>]		For Dunshaggana
	<i>ki</i> -[<i>akkil</i>]		the Kiakkil
5	<i>mu</i> -[<i>na-ru</i>]		he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>šag</i>		For <i>šag</i>
	<i>giš</i> <i>ba-tug</i> ?		the hero (<i>giš</i>) ? <i>ba-tug</i> ?
	<i>e-ni mu-na-ru</i>		his house he has built.
	<i>šag-ba</i>		In its midst
10	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Za-za-ru</i>		for Zazaru,

I. 3-5. Urukagina calls himself 'king of Girsu.' So probably also in Déc. 5, No. 1, while in le Clercq, ii. pl. viii. col. i. l. 5, he has the title 'king of Shirpurla.' Girsu and Shirpurla are therefore only two different names for the same place!

8. The *e-gal Ti-ra-aš-ka-ni* here seems to be co-ordinate to Antasurra, and has therefore to be translated as above. Comp. also le Clercq, cols. i. and ii.

II. 10. *dingir* *Za-za-ru* (*sic*). Comp. this with Gudea, Cyl. B, col. xi. 4 in R. A. ii. p. 134, where this very same god is written (*dingir*) *Za-za-RU*. This proves that *URU* has also the phonetic value *RU*. Comp. also 'kur-kur-

	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Im-pa-ud-du</i>	Impauddu,
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Gim-nun-la-ud-du-a</i>	Gimnuntauddua,
	<i>e + mu + ne + ni + ru</i>	their apartments he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-sar</i>	For Ninsar,
15	[. . . . <i>dingir</i>] <i>Nin-su-</i> <i>[gir]-ra</i>	the of Ningirsu (comp. Déc. 5, l. 22, 60).

Col. III.

	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>En-lil-la</i>	i. e.	For Enlil
	[<i>e-a</i>] <i>d-da</i> [<i>i</i>] <i>m-šag-ga-ka-ni</i>		the Eadda of his imsagga
	<i>mu-na-ru</i>		he has built.
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Ninā</i>		For Ninā
5	<i>id ki-ag-ga-ni</i>		her beloved canal,
	<i>id Ninā^{ki}-tum-a</i>		the canal ' <i>Ninā^{ki}-tum-a</i> ,'
	<i>2-mu-na-ru</i>		he has built.
	<i>ka-ba e</i>		At its mouth a house
	<i>ni</i>		
10	<i>na ud</i>		
	<i>mu</i>		he [has built].
12	ff.		

To this oldest dynasty of Shirkpurla belongs also a certain Enēgal ('lord of abundance' or 'very rich¹'). He, like Urukagina,

URU = *kur-kur-ru*, Galet A of Eannatum, iv. 23; *dingir-dingir-URU* = *dingir-dingir-ru*, Cône of Entemena, i. 3. This very same sign is also used as a verbal prefix (for *RA* ?), especially when preceded by *mu*; comp. Lugal-zaggisi, ii. 32.

III. 5. *id*, Br. 11647 = *nāru*.

6. Has the name of this canal to be translated: 'that goeth out from Ninā'? Thus it would be a proof that *Ninā^{ki}*, another part of Girsu-Shirkpurla, existed as early as this.

7. The first sign is that of T. C. 91 (*al*), without the last stroke, or is it = *NI-TUG* = *rabiš*?

12 ff. Amiaud adds: '*Restent encore les fragments de quatre colonnes, dont il ne m'est pas possible de donner une traduction.*'

¹ This king is only known from a communication of Hilprecht in Z. A. xi. p. 330.

calls himself '*lugal Pur-šir-la*'¹, 'king of Shirpurla.' Besides this he bears the proud title '*lugal ki-gal-la*,' 'the great king,' and terms himself *šib dingir Nin-gir-su*, 'the priest of Ningirsu,' a title similar to that of patesi-gal. From the title 'the great king' we may venture to conclude that he, unlike his predecessor, must have carried his arms successfully against the enemies of Shirpurla², but fate decreed that the royal capital should be reduced to the seat of a patesi. Kish, having been defeated some time before by Enshagkushanna, seems to have acquired new strength. Its king, Mesilim³, became lord paramount of Shirpurla, thus reducing its rulers to mere patesis⁴. The name of only one of these earliest

¹ Thus the name is written in this inscription according to Hilprecht. Comp. also the same or similar sequence of signs in the inscriptions of Ur-Ninâ, &c.

² That is, against Kish. This is probably indicated by O. B. I. Nos. 108, 109 (Hilprecht, *ibid.* p. 263, 2), where we have an inscription of a certain *U-dug*, patesi of Kish, who presents (*šag* [*šu*] *mu*-[*pa*]-*ka*b-[*du*]) = *ana širipti išruk*, O. B. I. 109, 4) certain things to (*dingir*) *Za*-[*ma-ma*].

³ See his inscription on p. 16. For a more detailed account of this king's power, see Cône of Entemena.

⁴ In this sense I take patesi with Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, iii. p. 234: '*die gebräuchliche Bezeichnung für die unterworfenen Könige ist in Babylonien patesi.*'

What patesi really means we do not know. Two explanations may be offered:

- (1) It means 'one that is filled (*si*) with power (*pa*).'

PA = (*a*) staff, sceptre, (*b*) name of any higher officer = *šápiru*, *aklu*.

SI = horn, sign of fullness, strength, then 'to fill.'

TE = *ta* (?), prefix which helps to form the conjugation.

- (2) Or: a governing, leading *šápiru* = *שֹׁפֵר*.

PA = *šápiru*.

SI = *šutišuru*, 'to govern, to lead.'

TE = *ta* (see Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 6).

The difficulty, however, with both of these explanations is, that it is not yet proven that *TE* = *TA*.

The Assyrians translated *pa-te-si* as well as *SI* by *iššakku*. In inscriptions the following patesis are mentioned:—

Patesi of a god.

Patesi of a city.

Patesi of a king.

Patesi of men in general.

patesis is preserved to us, i.e. *Lugal-šug-gur*¹, who is mentioned in the inscription of Mesilim. The sovereignty of Kish over Shirpurla does not seem to have lasted very long². Shirpurla regained its former glory under a new dynasty, namely, that of Ur-Ninâ.

Dynasty of Ur-Ninâ.

With Ur-Ninâ begins a new dynasty, probably the mightiest of Early Babylonia, the duration of its sovereignty extending from 4300 B.C. to 4100 B.C. Looking at the art and the inscriptions of these kings, we cannot help thinking that in Shirpurla civilization must have been far advanced, so far advanced as to force upon us the conclusion that 'several centuries have elapsed before men could reach this stage of civilization.' The greater number of these art treasures are preserved in the Louvre; the inscriptions found on them have been published in *Découvertes en Chaldée* and in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*.

Patesi of a so-called *bît tîmi*.

Patesi of a 'festival.'

From the fact that kings (*lugal*) very often term themselves patesi or patesi-gal of a certain god, it seems to be evident that patesi in the first place is purely a *religious title*, signifying the highest official of a god, having the care of that god's temple and jurisdiction over that territory, over which the god extends his influence. It is, however, evident that patesi, apart from its religious sense, has also its '*secular meaning*.' On page 7 we heard of an inscription of Naram-Sin, in which a certain Lugalushumgal, who was patesi of Shirpurla, is called 'scribe' (= 𒊩𒌆 = *šâpiru*) and servant, thus clearly indicating that this patesi was dependent on Naram-Sin, and was a *mere secular official*. The argument of Hilprecht in O. B. I. pp. 262, 263 and note 1, is precarious, because based on an incorrect translation of the inscription of Mesilim.

¹ Thus this name should probably be pronounced (R. A. iv. p. 35). As such it is equivalent to *Lugal-kurum* (Br. 9929) -*zikum* (Br. 10219), (Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 263, note 1). Thureau-Dangin (R. A. iv. p. 70, note 9) proposes to read *Lugal-šag-gur*.

² Only one other king of Kish has come down to us, who belongs to this period. This king is *Lugal-da?-ak?*, *lugal Kîš*; see R. A. iv. p. iii.

The first king of this dynasty was Ur-Ninâ¹ (servant of Ninâ). The dynasty of Urukagina must have been reduced to mere nothingness by the kings of Kish, so that Ur-Ninâ found it easy to take possession of the throne. He must have been of an old family, for he mentions the name of his father and grandfather, who have the title neither of patesi nor of king. He, like his predecessors, seems to have been great in peace. He built temples and various storehouses. A passage in his inscriptions (viz. Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 2, col. iv. 5, 6; comp. Déc. 2, No. 1, col. iv. 4, 5), where he records the building of the 'wall of Shirpurla,' suggests that the old enemy, Kish, was still troublesome, so that he found it necessary to fortify his capital against the deadly enemies from the north. For further details see the inscriptions which follow.

¹ Hommel (Geschichte, p. 284) reads this name Ur-Ghanna, in order to identify him with the old Orchamus in Ovid, *Metamorph.* 4, 212 ('*Rexit Achaemenias urbes pater Orchamus; isque septimus a prisca numeratur origine Beli*'). Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 10, note 3, says that this reading 'entbehrt jeglichen Grundes.'

His inscriptions are:

Déc. pl. 2, No. 1; see Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 10 ff. (The translation and transcription of Jensen are based upon the whole literature which preceded his, an account of which is there given.)

Déc. pl. 2, No. 2; Jensen, *ibid.* p. 14; A. B. K. No. 1.

Déc. pl. 1, No. 2; Jensen, *ibid.* p. 14.

Déc. pl. 2^{bis}, Nos. 1 and 2; see R. A. iii. 13 ff. and R. A. iv. p. 103 (Ur-Ninâ and his family).

Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 1; see R. A. iii. 18 ff. (Heuzey).

Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 2; see R. A. ii. 147, Oppert's translation, *ibid.*

Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 4, and R. A. iv. p. 98.

Déc. pl. 31, i (brick); R. A. iv. 91; see R. A. ii. 85 (Oppert).

See also R. A. iii. 13 ff. (Nouveaux Monuments du roi Ur-Ninâ par Léon Heuzey).

R. A. ii. 78, Généalogies de Sirpurla par Léon Heuzey; comp. with this R. A. iii. p. 32 ff., by the same author.

Déc. 26^{bis}, fig. 4.

R. A. iv. 87 ff., and especially *ibid.* pp. 97 and 122, i; p. 105, fig. 10 a, b; p. 106, fig. 11; p. 114, fig. 22.

R. A. v. 26 (L. Heuzey).

UR-NINÂ.

Déc. 2^{ter}, 4.

	(<i>Dingir</i>) <i>Ninâ</i> + <i>UR</i>	Ur-Ninâ,
	<i>gal</i> + (<i>ga</i>) <i>lu</i>	king
	<i>Šir-pur-la</i>	of Shirpurla,
	<i>dumu Gu-ni-du</i>	the son of Gunidu
5	<i>dumu Gur-sar</i>	son of Gursar,
	<i>E-Nin-su-gir</i> -(<i>dingir</i>)	the house of Ningirsu
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>E</i> (<i>dingir</i>) <i>Ninâ</i>	The house of Ninâ
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
10	<i>E-Ga-tum-dug</i> -(<i>dingir</i>)	The house of Gatumdug
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.

1. Read *Ur*-(*dingir*) *Ninâ*, and comp. *gal* + (*ga*)*lu* = king. Eannatum writes always *Ur*-(*dingir*) *Ninâ*. It means 'servant of Ninâ.' Ninâ is the sign *ab*, + inserted *ha* = fish, the later ideogram for the Assyrian capital, Nineveh; it may be pronounced either Ninâ or Ninua.

3. *Širpurla* without *ki*! So also in Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 2, col. 1.

4. *Gu-ni-du*: so has to be read, not *Ni-ġal-ni-du* (Jensen) or *Ni-ni-ġal-din* (Amiaud); comp. Thureau-Dangin, R. S. 1897, p. 272, note 8. *Ni* + *ġal* when written together is *gu*.

6. Very interesting is the sequence of the signs in this line, i. e. *Nin* + *su* + *gir*. The same sequence also occurs in Déc. pl. 2, 1; vide Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 10, col. i. 5. This name generally is written *Nin-gir-su*. The sign *SU* may also be pronounced *SUN* (Hommel, S. L. No. 7). It is possible, therefore, that the original name of the god from whom the city got its name (or vice versa) was *Nin-sun-gir*, and the city originally was called *Sun-gir*. Whether the latter reading or that of *Girsu* is the correct one cannot be made out at the present, but compare what has been said about the title 'king of Shumer and Akkad.' On account of the sequence *SU(N)-gir*, some scholars wish to derive from it the later 'Shumer,' which in the bilingual texts of Hammurabi translates the word Kengi (see under Enshagkushanna, page 45, note 4). For a derivation of Shumer from Sungir we could refer to the Hebrew שִׁנְעַר, Gen. x. 10, which should be pointed שִׁנְעַר (?). For the pronunciation of Hebrew ש as *g*, comp. עֲמִירָה LXX. Γόμωρρα.

10. Jensen reads her name *Ga-sig* (? *zih*, *zih*, &c.) -*dug*; comp. Gudea B, col. ii. 17, and note 2; K. B. iii¹, p. 28. She is the mother of Shirpurla; comp. Gudea B, col. viii, 56: *am Širpurla-ki aṣag* (*dingir*) *Ga-tum-dug*.

	<i>E-dam</i>	The house of his wife
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>E-Nin-Mar-ki</i> + (<i>dingir</i>)	The house of the <i>Nin-Mar-ki</i>
15	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Mà-al</i>	From Maal
	<i>kur-ta</i>	the mountain,
	<i>gu-gal-giš-MU</i>	with all kinds of wood,

12. The same building occurs also in Déc. pl. 2, No. 1, col. ii. 5. Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 12, makes a note of interrogation for the second sign. Oppert reads it = 'A R'; comp. R. A. ii. 147, but the more probable reading is *DAM* = *aššatu*, *širtu*.

14. (*dingir*) *Nin-Mar-ki*, i. e. the mistress of 'Mar' (a city). She is the 'first-born of Ninā'; comp. Ur-Ba'u, Déc. 7, 8, col. v. 8: *dumu-sag* (*dingir*) *Ninā-ra*.

16-19. The interpretation of these lines is rather difficult, owing to the difficulty of identifying the second sign in l. 16 and the correct interpretation of the phrase *gu-gal-giš-MU*.

Amiaud (R. P.² i. p. 65), Oppert (R. A. ii. p. 147), and Heuzey (R. A. iii. p. 17, and Déc. p. 170) read this sign *GAN*(*KAN*), thus identifying it with that to be found in Gudea D (Déc. pl. 9): *Ma-GAN-ki*. Jensen, in K. B. iii¹. p. 12, simply gives a '1.' Hilprecht (O. B. I. p. 253, note 1) transcribes this sign by *GIŠ-DIN*, and reads and translates Déc. 2, 1, col. iv. 10 ff., as follows:—*ma giš-din Kura-ta gu-giš-gal mu-tum*? i. e. 'a ship (laden) with wine he brought from the country which possesses every kind of tree.' Thureau-Dangin, on the other hand, identified this sign with *AL* (R. A. iv. p. 71, note 1). In E. C. No. 325 he, however, leaves it unidentified, but comp. also E. C. No. 377. That Hilprecht's proposed explanation cannot be correct is evident from a comparison of all those places of Ur-Ninā's inscriptions where this same sign occurs:

R. A. iv. p. 105 b: 1, *mà-[al]*; 2, *kur-[ta]*; 3, *gu* . . .

Déc. 2, 1, iv. 1 ff.:

1, *mà-al*; 2, *kur-ta*; 3, *gu-gal-giš-mu* (*sic!* nothing else); 4, *bad pur-la-šir*; 5, *mu-ru*.

Déc. 2^{ter}, 2, v. 3 ff.:

3, *mà-al*; 4, *kur-ta*; 5, *gu* + *giš* + *gal*; 6, *mu*—? (= *lal*?)

Déc. 2^{bis}, 1, lower half:

mà-al | *kur-ta gu-gal-giš-mu* | *DU-DU*.

And especially the passage in question (Déc. 2^{ter}, 4, 16 ff.):

16, *mà-al*; 17, *kur-ta*; 18, *gu-gal-giš-mu*; 19, *Ib-gal*; 20, *mu-ru*.

How would Hilprecht translate this passage? Line 18 shows that that scholar's emendation (*viz.* to read *tum* (?) after *mu*) is without warrant. If we had to supply a verb after *MU* we would—according to the analogy

	<i>Ib-gal</i>	the Ibgal
20	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Dul-nir</i>	The Dulnir
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.

of the inscription above referred to, and according to Déc. 2^{bis}, 1—expect *MU-TUM* (?) to form a line by itself; but it does not.

Dismissing, therefore, Hilprecht's emendation, we could translate this passage—again if that scholar's assimilation of *AL=GIŠ-DIN* is correct—only as follows:—[With] a ship (laden) with wine from the country which possesses every kind of tree he built the Ibgal. But this is absurd. The *TA* in line 17 has to be connected with line 16, which latter line contains the name of the *KUR*, and therefore line 16 has to be read *mà-al*: 'from (*ta*) *MÀ-AL* the mountain.' *GU* = Br. 3220: *nap̄haru*; *gal* = *bašû*; but how is the *MU* to be explained? Hilprecht (personal communication) sees in this *MU* some kind of a participial construction, and wants to translate: 'From *Mà-al* the mountain all kinds of wood having *MU* (=brought),' thus supplying for *MU* an unknown meaning. The correct interpretation of this passage is given on hand by Gudea B, iv. 6 ff: For Gudea . . . Magan, &c. . . *gu-giš mu-na-gal-la-a-an mà-giš ru-a-bi Šir-pur-la-ki-šu mu-na-tum*, which can be translated only (against Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 53, and Hilprecht, O. B. I. 253, 1) by: 'For Gudea have brought Magan, &c.—each of which (*a-an*) possesses every kind of tree—a ship (laden) with wood (for) his (*bi*) buildings in (or to) Shirpurla.'

gu-gal-giš-mu therefore has to be read *gu-giš mu-gal*; comp. Déc. 2^{tor}, 2, v. 3 ff. Such transpositions occur very often in our texts: Déc. 3^{bis} D¹, col. 1, 8: *bal-mu-e = mu-bal-e*, *ibid.* l. 3; Déc. 32, ii. 13: *e + mu + ne + ni + ru = e-ne-ni mu-ru*; comp. also Déc. 31, 1; Déc. 3 A ii. (= *ud-da inim-ba ni-šu-bal-e*); Lugalzaggisi, iii. 33.

Our whole passage must therefore be translated as has been done above, and its meaning is: he built the Ibgal with all kinds of wood (which is or comes) from the Maal mountain. Déc. 2, 1, iv. 1 ff. can be rendered only by: 'with all kinds of wood (which is) from the Maal mountain he has built the wall of Shirpurla.'

Line 6 in Déc. 2^{tor}, v. has to be completed according to Déc. 2^{bis}, 1, i. e. has to be read *mu-DU* = Shaphel, or probably also *mu-lal* (= *šabātu*).

It would seem, if we compare E. C. 325 with E. C. 377, that both these signs are identical, but differ essentially from the sign *GAN*. The sign *AL* occurs also in A. F. p. 545, No. 4, l. 3.

19. *Ib-gal*, Jensen, l. c. 'Innenraum?'; comp. Déc. 2, 1, col. i. 7. Also mentioned in A. V. 2100.

21. The *Dul-nir* mentioned here, and R. A. iv. p. 122, 5, l. 13, and in Déc. 2, 1, ii. 1, may be read also *KI-U*; so at least here! *U*, Br. 6025, *rêtu* = 'place of pasture'—pasture. Comp. Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 12, note 1.

E-pa
mu-ru

The Epa
he has built.

23. Occurs also in Déc. 2, I, ii. 7, and Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 2, col. iv. 3, and is explained in Gudea D, col. ii. 11, and in Gudea G, i. 13, as the *e-ub imin-na* (Jensen: 'Siebenweltraumhaus,' K. B. iii¹. p. 51, note **^o, and Kosmologie, p. 201 ff.) of Ningirsu.

Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 2.

Col. I.

(*Dingir*) *Ninâ-UR*
lugal
Šir-pur-la
dumu Gu-ni-du
5 *dumu Gur-sar*
E-Ninâ-(dingir)
mu-ru

Ur-Ninâ,
king
of Shirpurla,
the son of Gunidu
son of Gursar,
the house of Ninâ
has built.

Col. II.

(*dingir*) *Ninâ*
mu-tu
min alan (?)
mu-dun

The (image of) Ninâ
he has renewed,
2 statues
he has digged (=cut, carved,
sculptured);

II. 2. *mu-tu*; *tu* evidently the sign in T. C. 179; it occurs again in Déc. 2, No. 1, col. v. 2. Jensen transcribes it with *tur*, and thinks it is that given in T. C. 181—but wrongly. *tu*, Br. 1069 = *edēšu*, H. W. B. p. 30. In connection with this compare such expressions as '*šalam ilâni rabûte uddiŝ*,' or '*anĥusunu uddiŝ*'; also used of temples, '*udduŝu ešrêtim*.' Here undoubtedly the former meaning is the correct one, viz. = '*šalam Ninâ uddiŝ*.' Jensen translates '*hat hineingebracht*.' Déc. pl. 2, No. 1, col. v. 1, 2, ought to be translated: 'the house (*ē* = *ešrêtim*) of Ninâ the mistress he renewed.' Oppert, R. A. ii. p. 147, '*il a sculpté la déesse Ninâ*.'

3. *alan*? So Amiaud and Jensen. Thureau-Dangin, E. C. 107: 'probably identical with *alan*.'

4. The second sign is here clearly that of T. C. 188. It is also found in Déc. 2, No. 1, col. v. 4. Jensen (= *azag*, vide K. B. iii¹. p. 14) and Amiaud

5	(dingir) Ninā	Nina's
	alan	statue
	a-mu-na a-ak(?)	for the declaring of her (his?) name

Col. III.

	Ap-ir	(on the side of?) the Apir
	mu-tu	he has renewed.
	40 ur	40 servants
	dam	of his wife
5	(dingir) Ninā	for Ninā
	maš-bi-pad	that called him to be her prince

(who translates it 'he has set up' = *du*?) misread it. *dun*, Br. 9868 = *hirā*, H. W. B. p. 289 = 'to dig' (cut), hence when used of a statue = to sculpture. So also Oppert, l. c. Déc. 2, No. 1, col. v. 4, has to be translated: 2 statues he digged, i. e. sculptured, and not as Jensen: *hat zwei Statuen? gereinigt? (geweiht)?*

7. *a-mu-na a-ak*, written here *a + mu + a + ak*? (= a ligature) + *na* (under it). If the last but one sign is *ak*, T. C. 2—which however is very doubtful, comp. E. C. 558—then see Br. 2785 and H. W. B. p. 441: *nabū*. The 'na' then would be the pronominal suffix to *mu*, or the prefix to *ak*. It ought to be translated: (Of) Ninā a statue to declare her name (on the side of) the Apir he renewed. The *na*, however, may also refer to the king himself. Oppert translates: '*Il a sculpté la déesse Ninā: deux statues pour célébrer le nom de Ninā, une statue à côté du bassin Ap-ir, il les a sculptées.*' How he substantiates this translation is not clear.

III. 1. The *Ap-ir* is probably a similar construction to the *zu-ab-gal*, Déc. 2, 1, col. iii. 5, or the *zu-ab-tur-da*, Déc. 2, 1, col. iv. 6; Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 1. Comp. also the *ab-gi* in Déc. 31, No. 3, col. iii. 2, and the *e-ab* . . . in Déc. 5, No. 1, l. 36. See also note to l. 4 of Dec. 31, No. 1.

3 ff.: The sense is: Ur-Nina commanded forty servants of his wife that they should build for Ninā, who called him (Ur-Ninā) to be her prince, two bamoth. Because Ur-Ninā enumerates the buildings he himself had built, we have to translate *mu-ru* not by 'they built,' but 'he caused them to build.'

6. *maš*, Br. 1739, *ašaridu*, H. W. B. 149: 'prince'; *bi* = pron. suffix; *pad*, Br. 9420, *zakēru*. *PAD* here only shorter expression for *šag pad-da*, i. e. 'called by the heart,' sc. to be her prince (*maš-bi*); hence also the king's name: Ur-Ninā = servant of Ninā. Thureau-Dangin, O. L. Z. i. p. 167, 4, takes *MAŠ-PAD* in the same sense as *PAD* (comp. Gudea B, iii. 14: *šig maš-e-ni-pad: des briques je choisis*), and translates our passage: '40 hiérodoules époux de la déesse Nina j'élus.' Comp. also O. B. I. 125, obv. 11.

<i>min edin</i>	2 bamoth
<i>mu-ru</i>	he caused to build.

Col. IV.

<i>nin-ni</i>	(The statue of) his mistress
<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
<i>E-pa</i>	The Epa
<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
5 <i>bad Šir-pur-la</i>	The wall of Shirpurla
<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.

Col. V.

<i>gal + (ga)lu dingir uru</i>	(The image of) the king, the god of the city,
<i>mu-tu</i>	he has renewed.
<i>Mâ-al</i>	From Maal
<i>kur-ta</i>	the mountain
5 <i>gu-gal-gi^š</i>	all kinds of wood
<i>mu—</i>	he has (brought?).

7. *min edin*. The sign for 'edin' is undoubtedly here the same as in Galet A of Eannatum; comp. R. A. iv. No. 1, pl. 1, col. iv. 4, where *edin* is determined by *GU*. That this *gu* = land (*mātu*) is clear from the parallelism: (*dingir*) *Nin-gir-su-ra* a-šag *ki-ag-ga-ni Gu-edin-na šu-na mu-ni-gi*, l. c.; see also the note to it. And because the *edin* has not the *gu* (=land) before it, it is very probable that we have here the בַּמֹּת of Ninâ, as we have in the Galet A those of Ningirsu.

IV. 1. sc. *šalam*.

3. For *E-pa*, see Déc. 2^{ter}, 4, note to l. 23.

V. 1. *Lugal dingir Uru* is probably *dingir Ningirsu*, the god (*dingir*) of Girsu (the royal capital). It is interesting to see that Ur-Ninâ, king of Shirpurla-Girsu, calls his god here *lugal* (king).

3 ff. See Déc. 2^{ter}, 4, note to ll. 16, 18.

6. The last sign is not clear, probably = *DU* or *LAL* = he has brought (taken); comp. Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 1.

(Brick of Ur-Ninâ.)

Déc. pl. 31, No. 1, and R. A. iv. p. 91.

	(<i>Dingir</i>) <i>Ninâ-Ur</i>	Ur-Ninâ,
	<i>lugal Šir-pur-la</i>	king of Shirpurla,
	<i>dumu Gu-ni-du</i>	son of Gunidu,
	<i>Ab-Gir-su</i>	the Ab-Girsu
5	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.

4. What this *Ab-Girsu* was is difficult to tell. It may be a similar construction to that mentioned in Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 2, col. iii. l. 1 (see the note), and also similar to the *zu-ab tur-da* and the *zu-ab gal*, which latter two Jensen, in K. B. iii¹. p. 12, translates with '*das kleine Weltmeer*' and '*das grosse Weltmeer*.' Oppert may be right when he remarks, in R. A. ii. p. 85: '*On y a vu des bassins d'ablution, ayant un usage analogue à la fameuse mer du temple de Jérusalem. Il faudrait se demander si l'ap-Girsu ou mieux l'ap de Girsu ne pourrait pas rentrer de près ou de loin dans la même catégorie.*'

('Seuil-Borne.')

R. A. iv. p. 97, fig. 5, and p. 122, 1.

	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-su-gir</i>	To Ningirsu
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Ninâ-Ur</i>	Ur-Ninâ,
	<i>gal-(ga)lu</i>	the king
	<i>Šir-pur-la</i>	of Shirpurla,
5	<i>dumu Gu-ni-du</i>	the son of Gunidu
	<i>ud ab-Su-gir</i>	—when the Ab-Girsu
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he had built—
	<i>a-mu-šub</i>	he presented it (i.e. the <i>seuil-borne</i>).
	<i>e-(dingir) Ninâ</i>	The house of Ninâ
10	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Ib-gal</i>	The Ibgal
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Dul-nir</i>	The Dulnir

	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
15	<i>Igi-e-ni</i>	The Eigini (lit. house of his eye)
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>e-dam</i>	The house of his wife
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>e Ga-tum-dug</i>	The house of Gatumdug
20	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.
	<i>Ti-aš-ra</i>	The Tirash
	<i>mu-ru</i>	he has built.

15. For this building, comp. Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 12, notes 2 and **: 'Hochbau, Etage.' Better perhaps = *maššartu*, H. W. B. p. 478, or *bīt tamarti*, Del. A. L³, p. 122, No. 3, l. 15 = 'watch-tower,' √ 𒌦𒌦𒌦.

(Coupe d'Our-Nina.)

R. A. iv. p. 106, fig. 11.

(<i>Dingir</i>) <i>Ba-u</i>	To Ba'u
(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Ninā-Ur</i>	Ur-Ninâ,
<i>lugal</i>	king
<i>Šir-pur-la</i>	of Shirpurla,
<i>dumu Gu-ni-du</i>	son of Gunidu,
<i>a-mu-šub</i>	has presented it.

The son of Ur-Ninâ, who succeeded him upon the throne of Shirpurla, was *Akurgal*¹. As yet no inscriptions of this monarch have been found. All that is known about him is gathered either from the inscriptions of his son (Eannatum) or from those of his father (Ur-Ninâ). Owing to the importance of those inscriptions in more than one respect, it would be well to give a transcription

¹ The meaning of the name of this king is not quite clear. Jensen (K. B. iii¹, p. 16, note 3) explains it as 'son of the great mountain,' i. e. of Enlil-Bel (?). He also admits that it is possible to take the 'a' in the sense of 'man.' According to this the meaning would be: 'the man of Enlil-Bel.' Comp. also *a-zu* = *asû*, Br. 11377 = physician; lit. 'a knowing one' (as Arabic طَيْب and حَكِيم) from *zu*, 'to know.'

of them here. They are published in Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, No. 1, and especially Déc. pl. 2^{bis}, No. 1 and No. 2.

Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 2¹.

(dingir) Niná-Ur gal + (ga)lu Šir-pur-la	
dumu Ni + gu + du	
E Nin-gir-su	À-mi-ta
mu-ru	A-kur-gal
Lugal-šir	dumu
Ni-šal-la	Luġ + bar + ġe +
	gid ² + dul

Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 1¹.

ġ-tum	(dingir) Niná-Ur	À-mi-ta
Lugal-šir	gal + (ga)lu	Ba-lip
dumu	Šir-pur-la	ġ-du-du-gal
	dumu Gu-ni-du	
Mu + kur + ta + ri	E Nin-su-gir	A-kur-gal
dumu	mu-ru	dumu
	E (dingir) Niná	
Har-sag-	mu-ru	Nam-tum
ku-al	zu-ab-tur-da	galu
	mu-ru	dup-sar
	uru(k)-ni-mu-ru	

Déc. pl. 2^{bis}, No. 1, is the most important, because it gives us Ur-Ninâ and his whole family. I shall give the description² of Léon Heuzey in R. A. iii. p. 14 ff. *in extenso*:

‘Ici les figures forment deux processions superposées, marchant en sens inverse, au-devant d’un personnage beaucoup plus grand que les autres, ce qui évidemment marque son rang exceptionnel. Le

¹ A translation of these inscriptions is not necessary. See, however, the notes to Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 1.

² Comp. also Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 253, note 1.

nom, gravé tout près du profil, ne permet pas de douter que ce ne soit l'image d'Our-Nina, deux fois répétée.

'En regard de la file supérieure, le roi se tient debout, le torse nu. Le châle de kaunakès, rendu de la façon sommaire . . . entoure ses reins. C'est le costume de l'action et du travail. En effet, le souverain de Sirpurla se montre à nous dans une attitude qui est faite pour nous surprendre : sur la tête, complètement rasée, il soutient de la main droite une grande corbeille ; . . . le roi Our-Ninâ . . . humble . . . dans sa dévotion tient à honneur de remplir le rôle de porteur d'offrandes, de néocore, ou mieux l'office de manœuvre chargeant sur sa tête les matériaux pour la construction du temple. . . . En arrière, un petit personnage, tenant par le col une aiguère apode, à bec long sortant de la panse, représente l'échanson royal.'

The king in the upper row looks toward the right, while the other figures, five in number, march towards him. '*Le premier*,' Heuzey goes on (p. 15), '*est plus grand de proportions, et plus richement vêtu que ceux qui le suivent, sans doute pour marquer la dignité de fils aîné. . . . Les quatre petits personnages qui viennent ensuite et dont la taille va crescendo sont complètement rasés et portent le châle simple, roulé en juçon entour des reins.*' In the same fashion are also clad the servants of the king.

Of the second row of figures, Heuzey says (p. 16):

'(Le) second registre de figures (est) disposé en sens contraire du premier. Le roi, assis maintenant, se repose après la tâche terminée. Toujours plus grand que les autres personnages et portant le kaunakès enroulé autour de la taille, il lève un vase à boire en forme de cornet. Derrière son trône à dossier, . . . un nouvel échanson tient l'aiguère. En avant, comme première figure, plus haute que les suivantes, un dignitaire étend la main et semble parler à son maître.' In the upper row all the figures have the sign for 'son' behind their names, while in the lower row only the last three are honoured with it.

The inscription of this remarkable monument—which I shall give exactly in the same sequence in which it is found on that tablet—runs as follows:—

Déc. pl. 2^{bis}, No. 1.

<i>Mu + ta +</i> <i>ri + kur</i> <i>dumu</i>	Šir-pur-la lugal UR (dingir) Ninâ	<i>Sag-</i> <i>an-tug</i>
<i>A + ni +</i> <i>kur + ra</i> <i>dumu</i>		
<i>Lugal +</i> <i>šir</i> <i>dumu</i>		Mà-al <i>kur-ta gu-gal-</i> <i>giš MU</i> <i>du-du</i> <i>Ba-lip</i>
<i>A-kur-gal</i> <i>dumu</i>		Nun-pad <i>dumu</i>
<i>dumu</i> <i>Lid-da</i>	^e dingir Nin-su-gir <i>mu-ru</i>	e(ge?)ud-bu <i>dumu</i>
<i>Šir-pur-la dumu</i> <i>gal + (ga)lu</i> (dingir) Ninâ + UR	<i>Gu-ni-du dumu</i> <i>Gur-sar</i>	<i>Ninâ-ku-tur-</i> <i>à</i> <i>dumu</i>
<i>Zu-ab tur-da</i> <i>mu-ru</i>	<i>A-ni-ta</i>	^e (dingir) Ninâ <i>mu-ru</i>

Mu-ta-ri-kur. In Déc. 2^{1er}, No. 1, this son of Ur-Ninâ is mentioned again. The signs there have the sequence: *mu-kur-ta*, and under them *ri*. It is possible that this name has to be read *Mu-ri-kur-ta*.

A-ni-kur-ra. *A* has to be read, not *da*. The *ni* may belong after the *ra*, and the whole name may be pronounced *A-kur-ra-ni*.

Lugal-šir. So I would like to read the name of this son. He is mentioned also in Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 2.

A-kur-gal. 'Tient une aiguïère comme s'il remplissait auprès du prince héritier qui le précède le rôle d'échanson' (Heuzey, R. A. iii. p. 16).

Lid-da, the last sign, may also be ŠU. He is the 'firstborn,' while Akurgal—to conclude from his height—may be the youngest son. It is hardly possible to imagine that *Lid-da* would be = *lêtu* = 𒌦𒌶 — a feminine, although the sign 'dumu' does not speak against this. If this were true, 'il resterait,' says Heuzey, R. A. iv. p. 104, note 2, 'à expliquer comment, d'après les usages orientaux, une femme pourrait occuper ici la première place, avant les enfants mâles, même avant le prince héritier.'

Gu-ni du. In Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 2, written *Ni + gu + du*.

(dingir) *Ninâ-Ur*. So written here; in the second row, however, the name is written *Ur(dingir) Ninâ*. Eannatum, too, in his 'Stèle des Vautours,' writes the name *Ur-Ninâ*; comp. Déc. pl. 4, col. ii. 11.

A-ni-ta (Hilprecht, O. B. I. 253, note 1, reads *Da-ni ta* = 'at his side' =

The whole may be translated, beginning from the left (on the right side of Ur-Ninâ) :

Ur-Ninâ
king
of Shirpurla, son of Gunidu, son
of Gursar.

Lidda
the son,

the son
Akurgal,

the son
Lugalshir,

the son
Akurrani,

the son
Murikurta.

On the left side of the king :

The ZU-AB TUR-DA Anita.
he has built.

The middle part :

The house of
Ningirsu
he has built.

Second row, behind Ur-Ninâ (to
be read from the left to the right):

‘Ur-(dingir) Ninâ,
king Sagantuk.
of Shirpurla.’

In front of Ur-Ninâ (to be read
from the right to the left) :

‘From Maal
the mountain all kinds of
(Mu-)wood
he brought.
Balip,

Nunpad
the son,

e(ge?)-ud-bu
the son,

Ninâkutura
the son,

the house of Ninâ
he has built.

page) and *Sag-an-tug* (Hilpr. l. c. = ‘he is chief’) are servants or officials of the king; so is *Ba-lip*. The latter is mentioned also in Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 1, where this name is followed by *!-du-du-gal* (the ! is the same sign which is found in the name of the god mentioned in Galet A of Eannatum, col. vii. 18; which see). Among other servants of the king may be mentioned a certain *Har-sag-ku-al* (Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 1), *Ni-gal-la*, *Luĝ-bar-ĝe-gid(?) -dul* and *Nam-tum*, the scribe (Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 2).

!-ud-bu. The first sign is not clear. It looks as if it were *e(bîtu)*.

Mâ-al. The *al* is quite clear here, and no other sign than T. C. 91. For the whole expression, see Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 4, ll. 16-18. The signs *du-du* contain the verb. They—only one *du*—probably have to be supplied in Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 2, col. v. l. 6.

Among the buildings mentioned here are the *Zu-ab tur-da* (comp. also Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 1), the house of Ningirsu (ibid. and Déc. 2^{bis}, No. 2), and the house of Ninâ (ibid.). In Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 1, also a certain ‘*uru(ĝ)-ni*’ is mentioned, which also occurs in Déc. 2, 1, col. ii. 9. Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 12, translates it ‘*sein Observatorium*.’ See notes 4, 6, and * ibidem.

In this inscription eight sons of Ur-Ninâ are mentioned. If we classify them according to their height, and take this as a basis for determining their age, we would get the following result:—

Ur-Ninâ

- (1) *Lid-da*, (2) *Mu-ri-kur-ta*, (3) *A-ni-kur-ra*, (4) *Lugal-šir*, (5) *A-kur-gal*,
(6) *Nun-pad*, (7) *E-ud-bu*, (8) *Ninâ-ku-tur-a*¹.

It is remarkable that the firstborn, Lidda, is not mentioned in any of the other inscriptions. Did he never succeed his father upon the throne of Shirpurla? Did Akurgal, his fifth son, in preference to all the others, inherit the royal sceptre, and thus become the immediate successor of Ur-Ninâ? Interesting as these questions are, we are yet, with the means on hand, unable to decide them². This much only we know, that both Eannatum and Enannatum I. call themselves 'son of Akurgal.' Another interesting fact is that Eannatum, in his 'Stèle des Vautours,' calls his father *lugal* ('king'³) of Shirpurla, while in his other inscriptions he only terms him 'patesi of Shirpurla⁴.' Not very much can be concluded from this, because even Ur-Ninâ is styled by Eannatum 'patesi of Shirpurla' (comp. Galet A, col. viii. 4-7)⁵. The translation of this latter passage, however, is uncertain. Ur-Ninâ's successor, however—either Lidda or Akurgal—may have lost the title 'king' in consequence of an unsuccessful war. Eannatum, on the other hand,

¹ Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 252, reads this name: *Ninâ-šu-banda*.

² We are inclined to believe that Akurgal was not the direct successor, but probably followed upon the reign of Lidda. If this is true, then we would have here a similar case to that of Eannatum and Enannatum I.—both sons of Akurgal.

³ Comp. Déc. 4 A, col. ii. 8-10.

⁴ Comp. Galet A, col. iii. 1-3; viii. 1-3.

⁵ Entemena, on the other hand, calls Ur-Ninâ a king; see R. A. p. 48, obverse, col. ii. 2, '*dumu-ka Ur-dingir-Ninâ lugal Širpurla-ki-ka-ge*,' i. e. 'the grandson of Ur-Ninâ, king of Shirpurla.' The passage above cited is somewhat obscure. Probably we have to translate col. viii.: He (i. e. Eannatum) is the son of Akurgal, &c., and begin a new sentence with l. 6: He (i. e. Eannatum) is (*kam*) patesi of Shirpurla. If this explanation is right—which is highly probable—then Ur-Ninâ alone would have been king of Shirpurla, his successors being again reduced to mere patesis.

being more successful, resumes again for a short time the title 'king' after his victory over Kish. This latter fact is very important. Eannatum expressly tells us that Innanna gave him the *nam-lugal Kiš-ki*, 'the kingship of Kish' (Galet A, col. vi. 5), while as ruler of Shirpurla he was only patesi (ibid. l. 2). The state of affairs then was as follows:—

Ur-Ninâ, a usurper, was able to constitute himself *king* of Shirpurla in consequence of the weakness of the patesis of Shirpurla who preceded him, they having been reduced by the kings of Kish (comp. Mesilim) to complete powerlessness. Ur-Ninâ's successors, however, were not able to retain the title of their father (was it internal disharmony between the sons of Ur-Ninâ which caused this?). They lost the title 'king,' and had to accept that of patesi. Undoubtedly they were forced to do this by one of the successors of Mesilim, i. e. by a king of Kish. Eannatum—a great hero—was able to overcome the old enemy Kish. He even was so fortunate as to add to his old title, 'patesi of Shirpurla,' that of 'king' (sc. of 'Kish'), and by a stretch of this latter title he may have called himself also 'king of Shirpurla'.¹ The successors of Eannatum called themselves, and are called without any exception, 'patesis of Shirpurla.'

After these preliminary remarks about the titles of the different members of the dynasty of Ur-Ninâ, we now turn our attention to Eannatum² (i. e. 'The house of heaven is stable,' see Galet A, note

¹ This, however, is very doubtful. We find in all inscriptions of Eannatum not a single place which would prove with certainty that he was 'king of Shirpurla.' Déc. pl. 4 A, col. i. ll. 5, 6, *gal + (ga)lu Šir-la-pur-ki-ge*, does not prove anything, because from what precedes we cannot conclude that it was necessarily said of Eannatum. More favourable is Déc. 3^{bis}, E¹, col. 1: *E[annatum] gal + (ga)lu Šir-la-pur-ki*. Then follow the same titles as given in Galet A, i. 5 ff., with few variations.

² His inscriptions:—

Déc. pl. 2^{ter}, fig. 5: see R. A. iv. p. 39, note 2 (Thureau-Dangin), and R. A. iv. p. 122, 2.

Stèle des Vautours: comp. Heuzey, R. A. iii. 1 ff.

Déc. pl. 3 A: Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 16, No. ii.; Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. p. 38, note 3, and ibid. iv. pp. 124, 125.

,, B.

to i. 2), the son of Akurgal himself. Whether he reigned contemporaneously with his brother Eannatum I. or not, we cannot tell. The fact that the sons of Enannatum I. succeeded upon the throne of Shirpurla, and not those of Eannatum, makes it reasonable to suppose that Eannatum preceded Enannatum I. This latter ruler seems to have played only a minor rôle in early Babylonian history. But one of his inscriptions has so far come down to us (the translation of which was given on p. 14; comp. also R. A. iv. p. 122, No. 3).

Eannatum, his brother, on the contrary, is the greatest of the whole dynasty. The deeds of this monarch have been preserved to us on different monuments, among which the 'Stèle des Vautours' is the most important. In order to obtain a full conception of his time we must compare this 'Stèle' with the so-called

Déc. pl. 3 C.

„ 3^{bis}, D¹: Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. p. 39, note 1; and *ibid.* iv. p. 124.

„ E¹.

pl. 4 A.

„ B.

„ C.

pl. 4^{bis}, D²: Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. p. 39, note 3 (col. iii. 7-15); also published in R. A. iii. No. i. pl. ii. (*estampage*).

„ E².

pl. 4^{ter}, F¹: Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. p. 40, note 2 and note 1.

„ F²: Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. pp. 124, 125.

'Briques':—

Déc. 31, No. 2 *a* and *b*. Also published in R. A. ii. p. 81, and translated *ibid.* by Oppert, p. 86.

Other inscriptions:—

Berlin Museum, No. V. A. 2599: Jensen, K. B. iii. p. 15, i.

V. A. 2100 (unpublished).

Inscription of London, P. S. B. A., Nov., 1890, p. 63.

Les Galets: see Thureau-Dangin, R. S. 1897, p. 66, note 1.

A: published in R. A. iii. No. iv. pl. v.; revised edition in R. A. iv. No. i.

pl. i., translated by Thureau-Dangin in R. S. 1897, p. 66 ff.

B: not yet published, is in the museum of Constantinople.

C: published in Déc. 2^{ter}, No. 6.

D: published in Déc. 2, No. 3.

E: unpublished, in Constantinople.

'Cône' of Entemena. Those monuments, in connection with the Galet A, give us the following interesting piece of history:—

The god of Shirpurla (Ningirsu) and the god of Gishban, at the instigation of Enlil (god of Nippur), agree to settle the boundaries between their respective territories (Cône, i. 1-7). Mesilim, king of Kish—a contemporary of Lugalshuggur, patesi of Shirpurla; vide above, p. 16—in the quality of lord paramount of Shirpurla corroborates the result of 'this settling of boundaries,' and erects a statue on the junction of the two territories, to mark out the boundaries of the territory of Shirpurla on the one side and of Gishban¹ on the other (Cône, i. 8-12). Ush, however, a certain ambitious patesi of Gishban, is not satisfied with this decision. He takes away the statue which Mesilim had erected, and then invades Shirpurla undoubtedly to extend his territory beyond the boundary previously fixed (13-21). A war between Shirpurla and Gishban ensues.

Mesilim, who feels dishonoured by this action of Ush, takes the side of Shirpurla and defeats Gishban (22-31). Gishban in course of time again becomes restless. It invades, under its patesi Gunammide, the territory of Shirpurla, and more specifically the Guedin, a district sacred to Ningirsu. 'Gunammide, the patesi of Gishban, according to the command of his god . . . the Guedin, the beloved territory of Ningirsu, he destroyed' (Déc. 4^{bis}, D², col. iii. 7-15; see note to Galet A, iv. 4). Eannatum, after having fortified Shirpurla sufficiently ('the wall of Uruazagga he built,' Galet A, iii. 7), and having led his armies victoriously against Elam to Gishgal (Galet A, iii. 13-19), feels himself strong enough to deal a deadly (?) blow at Gishban. 'Gishban he put under the yoke, twenty of its dead ones he buried' (ibid. iii. 24 ff.). Having done this, he restores

¹ It should be borne in mind that the better reading of the name of this city is *GIS-UM-UM* being the second half of the sign reproduced in Br. 8124. Comp. Winckler, A. F. p. 373, note 3, and the note to the reading of the city *Ĝu-um-nu-ri-ki* further below, and see for the present C. T. 94-10-16-2: *mu-um-sa Ĝu-um-nu-ri-ki*, and C. T. 94-10-16-4: *mu-um-sa Ĝu-UM-nu-ri-ki*, which shows that the sign in question has to be pronounced either *ĜU* or *UM*. *GIS-UM* is the modern Djokha.

the sacred territory, the Guedin, to Ningirsu (Galet A, iv. 2 ff.); concludes a treaty with Enakalli, (one of) the successors of Gunammide; digs a canal 'from the great river (i. e. Euphrates?) to the Guedin' (Cône, ii. 1 ff.), thus establishing a boundary between the two territories. By the side of this canal he erects a statue of himself, restores the statue of Mesilim to its old place (Cône, ii. 4 ff.), and makes the Gishbanites swear never to invade the sacred territory of Ningirsu again, nor to trespass this boundary.

'In the future time the territory of Ningirsu, when (the Gishbanites) should invade it again, the dyke and the canal, if they should trespass it, the statue, if they should take it away—at that time when they invade it, then the *sa-šuš-gal* (i. e. Eannatum) of Utu, the powerful king, by whom they have sworn¹, shall arise against Gishban' (Déc. pl. 3^{bis}, v¹, col. i.).

The 'Stèle des Vautours' has for its main object the commemoration of this treaty with Enakalli, patesi of Gishban, after the latter city had been defeated by Eannatum².

The places of the 'Stèle des Vautours' which mention *this treaty* have been arranged by Thureau-Dangin (R. A. iv. p. 124) as follows:—

Déc. 3 A, col. i.

<i>E-an-na-tum me</i>	i. e.	Eannatum I am,
<i>sa šuš-gal</i>		the scourge

1. *ME*, Br. 10358: *anaku*; comp. Déc. 7, ii. 4; *Ur-(dingir) Bu-u me*.

2. *SA ŠUŠ-GAL*. Jensen, K. B. iii¹, p. 16, and Thureau-Dangin, R. A. iv. p. 38, note 3, read *sa-u-gal*, where the latter translates 'serment.' In R. A. iv. p. 124, the latter, however, reads *sa-šuš* (Br. 8643)-*gal*, and compares iv. R. 27, 58 a (*sa šu-uš-gal*), and ii. R. 19, 3 b (*sa šu-uš-kaš*). Comp. also Br. 7166 and 7167. For *šuškalu*, see H. W. B. p. 694. It is a title which even later Assyrian kings apply to themselves, viz. Tiglath-pileser (iii. 33) and Sargon (Lay. 33, 10). According to Thureau-Dangin, l. c., this expression signifies 'l'épervier,' 'le filet,' while Delitzsch, l. c., translates it by 'Fallstrick, Fangnetz.' Comp. K. 133, obv., 7, 8: *Ninib karradu ša šu-uš-*

¹ Comp. also Galet A, i. 2, note.

² And not to commemorate the defeat of Gishban (Hilprecht, O. B. I. p. 271), which preceded the erecting of the 'Stèle des Vautours.'

	(dingir) U _{tu}	of Shamash,
	gal + (ga)lu zal si(g)-ga-ka	the king filled with splendour ;
5	galu Giš-BAN-ki-ra	unto the Gishbanites
	e-na-sum	I have given an oath
	nam e-na-la-kud	and sworn.
	gabū Giš-BAN-ki-ge	The Gishbanites
	E-an-na-tum-ra	to Eannatum
10	nam mu-na-kud-du	have sworn—
	zi (dingir) U _{tu}	by the life of Shamash
	[mu-ni-pad-de (comp.	they have sworn.
	Déc. 3 A, iii. 4)]	

Déc. 3 A, col. iv. 1, and 4^{ter}, F², col. iv. 2 ff.

(g)uru ni-kù A (boundary)-canal I have made,

kal-la-šu (= giš SA ŠU-UŠ-KAL-bi) a-a-bu i-saḫ-ḫa-pu. This latter writing shows that SA ŠU-UŠ-KAL = ŠU-UŠ-KAL.

The best way to translate this expression would be by 'rod' 'reed,'—on account of giš—i. e. eine (Zucht)-Rute, a 'scourge.' This is evident from l. 29, where the sa-šuš-gal is said to an-ta ḡe-šuš, 'to cast down,' 'to overpower' his enemies. This expression occurs also in Cône of Entemena, i. 29, vi. 22.

4. ZAL, Br. 5319: namāru; ZAL-ZAL, Br. 5359, kamū ša nabli; SIG(-GA), Br. 3393, malū; the whole might be translated 'king, filled with light' (splendour). Comp. also Gudea B, viii. 62, 63.

For lines 1-4, comp. also Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 16, No. ii.

6. SUM, H. W. B. p. 450: nadānu: 'einen Eid leisten, angeben, kundthun, zeigen'; comp. also ii. R. 65, obv., i. 4: mamītu iddinū.

7. KUD, Br. 390; tamū, H. W. B. 708. NAM... KUD, according to Thureau-Dangin, l. c.: 'paraît avoir ici un sens analogue à NAM ERIM... KUD(-DA)'; see Br. 2182 (written: nam-ne-ru... kud-da) = mamītu tamū; comp. H. W. B. p. 415 sub mammētu.

9. The RA here, as well as in l. 5, is postfix, dependent upon sum and kud—and not an essential part of the name of Eannatum, as Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 14, note 13 (E-dingir-ra-na-gin, see Galet A, i. 2), supposes.

12. PAD, Br. 9417: tamū.

13. The first sign occurs again in Gudea D, iii. 3: mû-(g)uru ki-ag-ga-ni, and passim. Comp. Jensen, K. B. iii¹. p. 52, note 1 and *: 'meine geliebte Barke,' and T. C. 201.

NI-KÛ. This KÛ occurs again on the Cône of Entemena, ii. 23: ḡar-šu

	<i>e til-zî(d) na-e</i>	and to keep (them) back I filled it with water,
15	<i>da-ur da-gal-la-šu</i>	in order that for ever
	<i>ki-sur-ra</i> [comp. Déc. 3 ^{bis} , D ¹ , col. i. 1 ff.]	the territory
	(<i>dingir</i>) <i>Nin-gir-su-ka-ge</i>	of Ningirsu
	<i>ba-ra-mu-bal-e</i>	they may not invade;

nî-kû, where it is parallel to *kud-du ba-uš*. But *UŠ*, according to H. W. B. p. 80, is = *emêdu*; (*g*)*uru nî-kû* then may be = *usurta* (sic) *êmid*, i. e. 'eine Umschrankung' (H. W. B. 122), *errichtete, legte er an* = a boundary-canal he made, thus identifying T. C. 201 with T. C. 194. In later times these two signs were separated. If this be true, then a *mà-(g)uru* is only a small boat, such as is used only on a canal, in contradistinction to a *mà kar* *éξοχήν*.

14. *NA-E*. E, Br. 5844 : *mû*, 'water,' as verb 'to water, to fill with water'; comp. O. B. O. 87, ii. 36, 37 : *a-ne ġul-la mu-da-e*, 'with waters of joy he watered,' i. e. filled. The same meaning has to be postulated here.

(E)-*TIL-ZID*. According to Br. 1577 = *TIL-ZID-DA* = *nîtu*, H. W. B. 460. According to this lines 13 and 14 might be translated: 'eine Umschrankung legte er an und füllte sie mit Wasser (na-e) als Zurückhaltung (*nîta* or *nîtiš*),' i. e. he filled the boundary canal with water in order to keep away the Gishbanites. This would actually agree with Cône of Entemena, i. 32-ii. 3 : Eannatum, patesi of Shīrpurla, *e-bi id-nun-ta gu-edin-na-šu ib-ta-ni-ud-du*, 'a canal from the great river to the Guedin he made to go.' This canal (*e-bi*), called here (*g*)*uru* (*Umschrankung*), was then filled with the water from the great river (הנהר הגדול), the Euphrates. Thureau-Dangin, l. c., translates lines 13 and 14 : *Un fossé . . . j'ai creusé*.

15. *da-ur* = Semitism for *dârû* or *dâru*, H. W. B. p. 213. Comp. O. B. I. 261, note 4.

DA-GAL-LA-šu. That *da-GAL* = *da-mal*, see Hommel, Sum. Lesestücke, p. 137 b.

DA-MAL-LA, Br. 6679-6681, which latter again is dial. equivalent of *DAGAL*, Br. 5446; *rapâšu*, *rapšu*, H. W. B. 626.

DA-UR DA-GAL-LA-su = *ana dâri rapši*, i. e. for ever = *ana dâru umê*, v. R. 65, 23 b.

16. Lines 16-18 are identical with Déc. 3^{bis} D¹, i. 1-3, and supplement each other.

For *ki-sur*, see Cône of Entemena, i. 7; vi. 10, 12.

18. *BAL*. See Cône of Entemena, vi. 16 : *an-ta bal-e-da*. *BA-RA*, Br. 123 : *lâ* = negation.

Déc. 3^{bis}, D¹, col. i. 4 ff.

	[e]-kur + e-bi	and the canal
20	šū-bal ba-ra-ag-ge	they may not cross over,
	na-ru-a-bi	and that stèle
	ba-ra-paḏ-du	they may not take away.
	ud-da mu-bal-e	On the day when they
		should cross over,
	sa šuš-gal	then the scourge
25	(dingir) Utu	of Shamash,
	lugal zal si(g)-ga-ka	a king filled with splendour,
	nam e-ta-kud-du	by whom they have sworn,
	iš-BAN ^{ki} -a	over the Gishbanites
	an-ta ḡe-šuš	may it come.

19. Thureau-Dangin reads this line [e]-kūr-e-bi, and says, l. c., note 11: 'le signe kūr est emboîté dans le signe e.' This very same sign we find also in *Tablette A* of Entemena (R. A. ii. p. 148), face, iv. 8: *ab-zu E* (=kūr-e) *GID-RA*.

E (Br. 5841) as well as (*E*)-*KÛR* (written *BAR*)-*E*, see H. W. B. p. 51 and iv. R. 14, No. 3, 11, 12 *a, b*, signify = *iku* and *palgu*, 'Bewässerungsgraben und Kanal.' R. A. ii. p. 148, col. iv. 8, therefore, has to be read and translated: *zu-ab Kūr-e SĪR-ra*, i.e. unto Enki he built an *ab-zu* for (*ra*) the long (*gid*=*arāku*) canal (*kūr-e*).

20. The first sign is not clear; it may be either *KI* or *ŠU*. Both as prefixes form nouns, Hommel, S. L. p. 141, 2 *b*.

KI-bal or *ŠU-bal*=the going over, the crossing; see above, l. 18.

Ba-ra=*lā*; *ag-ge*=*epēšu*. Word for word: a crossing not to make.

21. *na-ru-a-bi*. This stèle was erected by Mesilim on the boundaries of Kish and Shirpurla (Cône of Entemena, i. 12); Ush, the patesi of Gishban, removes it (ibid. i. 19), and Eannatum restores it again to its former place (ibid. ii. 6-9).

22. *PAD*. Vide Cône of Entemena, i. 19.

29. *AN-TA*=*ēliš* (Br. 459); *ŠUŠ*, Br. 8700: *katāmu*. The subj. is *sa-šuš-gal*, l. 24. This line shows that the meaning of *sa-šuš-gal* can be only that which was given above, viz. 'scourge'; a *šuškal la māgirē* is 'a scourge for the not subservient ones' (Tiglath-pileser, Sargon); *an-ta ḡe-šuš* can only be translated by 'may (*ḡe*) the scourge (*sa-šuš-gal*) of Shamash come (*šuš*=*katāmu*, H. W. B. p. 362) over (*an-ta*) the Gishbanites.' Comp. also *sa-šuš-gal ne-šuš* (Cône of Entemena, i. 29) and *sa-šuš-gal-ni šà-ni-šuš* (ibid. col. vi, 22, 23).

- 30 *E-an-na-tum me* Eannatum I am,
gal-na-ga-mu-zu the wise one, the knowing one
 (I am):
tu-ḡu NAMŠABU-2, two doves,
igi-ba KAŠ-ŠIG ba-ni-gar upon them I poured wine
ùr-sag-ba ni-mi-gab and sacrificed them.
 35 [(*dinḡir*) *Utu*] For Shamash,
gal+(galu) [zal] si(g)-[ga-ra] the king filled with splendour,
UD-UNUG-ki in Larsa,

31. *GAL* . . . *ZU*, according to Thureau-Dangin, l. c. note 17 = *GAL-AN-ZU* (Br. 6853; H. W. B. p. 139): *iṣṣu*; comp. also Cyl. B, ii. 8; xiii. 13. Is *NA-GA-MU* the 'person-forming' prefix to *ZU*? *ZU*, Br. 130: *mudû*.

32. *tu-ḡu*, Br. 1084; *summatu*, H. W. B. 503.

namšabu = *iṣṣuru*, Br. 2232. Thus we should probably read, and not *NAM*.

33. The third sign is not clear. Thureau-Dangin thinks (l. c. note 19) that it is composed of *BI* + *SIG* (= *IGI-GUNŪ*, E. C. 391). For *igi-gunû* comp. Br. 7005 and 7373. The latter has also the meaning *dannu*, *rabû*, and *dummukû*. Probably in these old times *igi-gunû* was = *igi-érinnu* (*ŠIG* = *damû*, Br. 9446). For *KAŠ* (*BI*)-*ŠIG* comp. R. A. iii. p. 136 = *šikaru damiktum*. *GAR* = *šakûnu* (Br. 11978). The whole line may be translated literally: Upon them (*igi-ba*, i. e. upon their faces) I placed (*ba-ni-gar*) wine (*KAŠ-ŠIG*), i. e. I poured upon them wine, apparently a ritual observance.

34. The first sign is that for *ÛR* with inserted *gunu*-signs. Because *GAB* = *pitû*, *paṭâru* (Br. 4488): *spalten, zerreißen, durchbrechen*, we would not be far from the correct interpretation if we explain this line by: their *ùr-sag* I pierced through, destroyed. But *ÛR-SAG* means *ḫaradu*, *ḫarra-dûtu*, which when put into the *gunu*-state may very well stand for 'life' or 'heart.' In l. 33 he pours upon the doves wine; in this line he states that he destroyed their vital (= *gunu*-signs) strength, i. e. he killed, sacrificed them. Lines 29 ff. seem to indicate that his wish (*ḡe*) will surely be fulfilled, i. e. that he will punish the Gishbanites if they should trespass the boundary canal. It is, so to speak, an oath corroborated by this sacrifice of two doves. Apparently the king had such sacrifices instituted all over the country, in order to celebrate in the right manner his treaty with the Gishbanites. This is evident from Déc. 4^{tor} F², col. v. 2; where we are told that four other doves were sacrificed, two of them in the city of Ur for Nannar: *E-an-na-tum-me gal-na-ga-mu-zu tu-ḡu 4 igi-ba KAŠ-ŠIG ba-ni-gar ùr-sag-ba ni-mi-gab 2 NAMŠABU Ûru-unug-ki-ṣu*. But he does not forget Bel of Nippur also; comp. *ibid.* col. vi. 1.

- E-BAR-BAR* in (the temple) *E-BAR-BAR*,
ninda-gud ku-an-kù young oxen I offered.
- Déc. 4^{ter}, F², col. iii. 4.
- 40 *E-an-na-tum me* Eannatum I am,
ka-a-kud-du obedient
lugal-mu to my king
 (*dingir*) *EN-KI-ra* (sic! not *Utu*) Ea.
ab-ba dug-ga-na (cp. Déc. 3 A, col. ii. 1) If any proud one
- Déc. 3 A, col. ii. 2.
- 45 *a-ba šar-ra-na* (or) any powerful one
galu [giš-BAN-ki-a] of the Gishbanites
enim da-gur-ra-da-an should break his promise,
ud-a-ru or in future time
ka an-gal should want to take it back,

39. *NINDA*, T. C. 53; Ur-Ba'u, iii. i. *NINDA-GUD* probably = *GUD-NINDA* = *bîru* in the sense of *bîru*, 'young ox,' H. W. B. p. 169.

KU-AN-KÛ. *ku* = verbal-prefix. For other examples, see Lugalzaggisi, iii. 33; *mu-tar-ri-KU-a* (read: *mu-ku-tar-ri-a*); Cône of Entemena, iii. 21: *e-ku-kid*; Déc. pl. 31, No. 3, col. iv. 5: *še-na-ku-tum*.

KÛ = *akâlu* (Br. 882), here = *Shaphel*, 'to give to eat' = to sacrifice to somebody. *KÛ* is used here for 'to sacrifice,' because the *ninda-gud* were 'given to eat' to the priests of Shamash.

41. *KA* . . . *KUD*, Br. 561; *dalâlu*, H. W. B. p. 219, and K. 257, rev., 17, 18: *edlum muddallum* (written: *KA-TAR-RA*) = obedient (to the gods).

44. *AB-BA DUG-GA-na* may be best explained by 'hero (comp. Br. 3820, *amêl AB* = *nasîku*, H. W. B. 472) of his (*na*) mouth' (*DUG-GA* = *pâ*) or 'hero of his words' (*kibîtu*) = 'a proud person,' 'ein Maulheld.'

45. *a-ba*, Br. 11370; *mannu*, H. W. B. 419: 'wer immer.' Is this *a-ba* identical with the *ab-ba* in l. 44? The third sign, according to Thureau-Dangin, l. c. p. 125, 2, is that for *SAR* = 3600. As such it is that of Br. 8981: *bîrku*, 'knee.' He translates *šar-ra-na* by 'par sa puissance?' thus considering the *𒍪* as the 'seat of power.' For the reading of this sign (= *šar* instead of *DUG*), see also Meissner, A. B. P. R. pp. 98, 99.

47. *enim da-gur-ra-da-an* may mean: whosoever (*a-ba*, l. 45) shall turn (*da-gur-ra* = *târu*, S^b 209) against (*da*, Br. 6655: *ana* = Hebr. *אני*) his (*an*? for *na*?) word (*inim* = *amâtu*) promise. As such it would be like l. 50, which see.

48. *ud-a-ru*, probably = *ud-ul-ru-(a)* = *umê šâti*, Br. 7939.

49. *ka-gal*, Br. 611, *puḫurrû*, H. W. B. 537: 'Reklamation, Anspruchs-erhebung.' Here = verb, on account of *an* = *paḫâru* = *ipāḫḫar*, 'he claims.'

- 50 *ud-da inim-ba šu-ni-bal-e* on that day when he breaks
his promise
sa šuš-gal the scourge
(*dingir*) *Utu* of Shamash,
lugal zal si(g)-ga-ka the king filled with splendour,
nam e-ta-kud-du by whom they have sworn,
55 *giš-BAN-ki-a* over the Gishbanites
an-ta ġe-šuš may it come.

50. Lit.: On the day when (*ud-da*) he transgresses (*šu-ni-bal-e*; *bal* = *nabalkātu*) his promises, or destroys, breaks (= *naḫāru*) his promise.

It bears the significant subscription: 'Stèle: Its name—nobody has ever seen its name—is: *Nin-girsu en menluma namī(id) Kiš-edina*¹; stele of Guedin, the beloved territory of Ningirsu, which Eannatum has consecrated to Ningirsu².'

But Eannatum was not satisfied with this; he imposes a heavy tribute upon Gishban, consisting of one karu of grain for Ninâ and one karu for Ningirsu, besides 144,000 (?) great karu (Cône, ii. 19 ff.).

After having reduced Gishban to tranquillity, Eannatum also carries his victorious weapons against Erech (Warka) and Ur (the Ur of the Chaldees), Ki-Utu (Larsa?) and Aza (on the Persian Gulf)—the patesi of which latter city he kills—against Meshime and Arua. These latter cities were all in the neighbourhood of Shirpurla. Last of all, he crushes and defeats Zuzu, king of Uḫ (Galet A, iv. 6–v. 8). But even this does not exhaust the record of his victories. He becomes *king of Kish*—Kish, which for so long had itself been sovereign over Shirpurla. How this victory was accomplished is not evident from the inscriptions so far extant.

¹ The name, according to Thureau-Dangin, means: '*Ningirsu, seigneur de la tiare magnifique, fais vivre le canal Kish-edina*,' l. c. p. 40, note 1.

² Déc. pl. 4^{ter}, F¹: *na-ru-a* | *mu-bi* | *galu-a nu mu-bi ġi-e* | (*dingir*) *Nin-gir-su* | *en-men-lum-ma* | *nam-ti* | *id Kiš-edin-na* | *na-ru-a* | *gu-edin-na* | *a-šag ki-ag* | (*dingir*) *Nin-gir-su-ka* | *E-an-na-tum-me* | (*dingir*) *Nin-gir-su-ra* | *šu-na mu-ni-gi-a*. |

Probably at some future time we may find an account of this war¹.

Eannatum was not only a hero in war, but also a wise administrator. He improved the condition of Shirpurla by digging different canals, which he consecrated to his god Ningirsu: the Kishedin, which probably marked the boundary between the Guedin and Gishban, and which the Gishbanites had to swear never to cross; the Lumagirnuntashagazagipada along the territory of Ningirsu (Déc. 2^{ter}, fig. 5); and the Lumadimshar (Galet A, vii. 4).

Urukagina, we have seen, was the first to build a canal, viz. one for Ninâ, which he called *Ninâ-ki-tum-a*. In the Cône of Entemena are also mentioned the canal Lumaşirta (iii. 20), the Imduba (ii. 11), and the Namnundakigara (ii. 13, *et passim*). Here then we have the beginning of the most characteristic feature of Babylon. Babylonia becomes 'the land of canals,' such as the Psalmist had in mind when he wrote that beautiful psalm: 'By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept.' Further, Eannatum was not unmindful of his duty to the gods. He confesses in the opening of Galet A that all that he is and that he has comes from his gods. Accordingly, he shows his gratitude by erecting sanctuaries for Enlil, Ninḥarsag, Ningirsu, and Utu, and by restoring old buildings, which had been erected by his predecessors in honour of the gods, among which is to be found the Tirash.

¹. Does the inscription of Enne-Ugun record this victory?

VITA

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